

लाल बहादुर शास्त्री राष्ट्रीय प्रशासन अकादमी
L.B.S National Academy of Administration

मसूरी
MUSSOORIE

पुस्तकालय
LIBRARY

अवाप्ति संख्या
Accession No.

वर्ग संख्या
Class No.

पुस्तक संख्या
Book No.

101153
9647

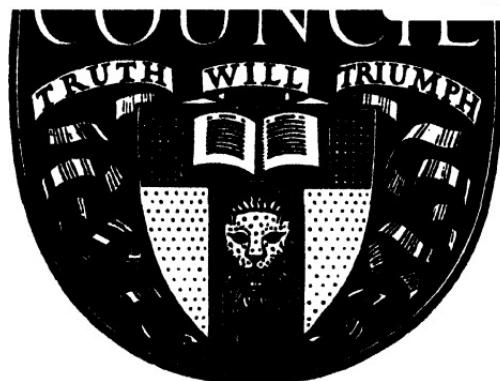
262.135092

Wol

GL 262.135092
WOL



101153
LBSNAA



recover all his revenues, but was allowed to keep York and a pension out of Winchester (see below, 124/34ff.).

109/25 **yet wyll I...this:** i.e. Yet will I divide this among you.

110/12–13 **thes ij dayes:** Presumably 1–3 November. Cromwell left Wolsey on 1 November. By the 3rd he had obtained his seat in the Parliament that met on that day.

110/14 **Sir Rafe Sadler:** Cromwell refers to Ralph Sadler (1507–87) as ‘my servant’ in the will which he made on 12 July 1529. Sadler’s rise to power began in Cromwell’s household; he was made a gentleman of the privy chamber shortly after Henry’s minister became Earl of Essex (9 July 1536) and was knighted in 1540.

110/19 Supply ‘I’ (Cavendish) before ‘perceyved’.

110/22 **sir John Russhell:** The *Letters and Papers* (IV, 6024) preserve a letter from Wolsey to Henry thanking the king for the comfort sent him by Sir John Russell. The letter is undated, but is placed under 24 October 1529 by the editors. Pollard (p. 265, n.) suggests that if Cavendish is right Wolsey’s acknowledgement should be dated 2 November. For Russell see above (37/25–6 and n.).

112/8–10 **And shortly...stuff:** If Wolsey arrived at Esher about 25 October, as seems most likely (above, 100/20 and n.), then

~~as...will...contradict...the...contradicts...his...earlier...state-~~

Cavendish: Life of Cardinal Wolsey

EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

No. 243

1959 (for 1957)

PRICE 35s.

and to make great sacrifices in order to obtain
the money required for the payment of the
debt. This is the case with all the
countries of Europe, and especially with
those which have been long under
the dominion of the Turks. In Turkey
there is no such thing as a public
taxation, and the people are compelled
to contribute to the public expenses
by means of contributions, or by
other means, such as the sale of
their property, or by other means,
which are not mentioned in the
constitution of the country.

THE LIFE AND DEATH
of
CARDINAL WOLSEY

by
GEORGE CAVENDISH

EDITED BY
RICHARD S. SYLVESTER

Published for
THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY
by the
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON NEW YORK TORONTO
1959

© Early English Text Society 1959

PRINTED AND BOUND IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
JARROLD AND SONS LTD, NORWICH

PREFACE

I should like to take this opportunity to thank all those who, in their various ways, have helped to make this edition possible. Among many others, I am particularly grateful to the Rev. M. B. McNamee, S.J., of St. Louis University, who, years ago, first aroused my interest in the *Life of Wolsey*; to Professor F. P. Wilson of Oxford University for his whole-hearted encouragement and many helpful suggestions; and to Mr. N. R. Ker, University Reader in Palaeography at Oxford, who first taught me to read Renaissance script and who supervised my transcription of Egerton 2402. I am greatly indebted to the many librarians who have helped me in my search for manuscripts. I wish to thank particularly Dr. R. W. Hunt of the Bodleian Library, the authorities of the British Museum, Mr. H. W. Parke of Trinity College, Dublin, Mr. P. I. King of Lamport Hall, Northampton, Miss Brunskill of the York Minster Library, the Duke of Northumberland (for permission to examine a microfilm copy of his MS. of the *Life*), Dr. Giles E. Dawson of the Folger Shakespeare Library, and the staffs of the Yale and Harvard Libraries for their constant co-operation. Miss Nelly McNeill O'Farrell and Miss Mabel Mills have given me invaluable aid in my work with the London records and Professors Charles T. Prouty and Helge Kökeritz of Yale have supplied me with many helpful hints. I am most deeply grateful to Professor Davis Harding of Yale for his kindly, albeit forceful and searching, criticism and to Dr. C. T. Onions, who helped me to put the glossary in its final form. Finally, I wish to express my thanks to the Honorary Secretary of the Early English Text Society, Mr. R. W. Burchfield, for his patient guidance in all the various stages of editorial work that have preceded this edition, to the members of the Council of the Society for their helpful criticisms, and to my wife for her constant and careful proof-reading of the final manuscript.

R. S. S.

*Yale University,
1 June 1958*

CONTENTS

British Museum MS. Egerton 2402, f. 88 ^v	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PREFACE	v
INTRODUCTION	ix
The Manuscript	ix
Previous Editions	xi
George Cavendish	xiii
Date of Composition	xxvi
Sources	xxviii
Cavendish as Historian	xxxii
The Text	xxxviii
TEXT	3
BIBLIOGRAPHY	189
NOTES	193
APPENDICES	
A. William Forrest's <i>History of Grisild the Second</i>	259
B. The Battle of Pavia and the Bohemian Revolt	263
C. The Speeches at the Divorce Trial	268
D. Some Notes on the Later History of the <i>Life</i>	270
E. The Secondary Manuscripts	274
GLOSSARY	289
INDEX OF NAMES	301

INTRODUCTION

The Manuscript

The present edition of George Cavendish's *Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey*¹ is based upon the autograph manuscript, British Museum MS. Egerton 2402. The manuscript is a small paper folio of the sixteenth century, bound in red boards. The pages measure 7×11 inches. There are 154 leaves in the manuscript, the *Life* occupying ff. 4 to 93, with f. 4^v blank.² The text runs consecutively from f. 5 to f. 93; f. 93^v is blank. Two blank leaves then intervene before Cavendish's poems, which occupy ff. 94 to 151.³ Ff. 151^v and 152 are blank; on ff. 152^v and 153 a nineteenth-century hand has entered a genealogy of the Cavendish family. F. 153^v is blank; f. 154, the last in the manuscript, contains a list, in a seventeenth-century hand, of eight items that appear to relate to the settlement of an estate in the manor of Exton.⁴

The manuscript is written throughout in a relatively tight and somewhat cramped hand of the early or middle sixteenth century; the ink is a faded, but generally quite legible, light brown. A page of text normally contains from 27 to 32 lines. The left-hand margins average about 1½ inches, but the lines of text often extend to the extreme right-hand edge of the page.⁵

¹ Referred to hereafter as 'the *Life*'.

² The first page of the text, which apparently contained about thirty lines of script, has been lost in the autograph manuscript. These lines are reproduced in this edition from Bodleian MS. Douce 363, one of the earliest, as far as it can be ascertained, of the extant secondary manuscripts. See Appendix E on the secondary manuscripts.

³ The two blank leaves between the *Life* and the poems are not numbered. A sixteenth-century hand (not Cavendish's) originally numbered the *Life* and the poems separately; these numbers have been cancelled and a new hand has numbered the leaves in pencil throughout the manuscript. This later pagination is adopted in the references to the manuscript in this edition.

⁴ This list may possibly contain information regarding the owners of the manuscript in the seventeenth century, but I have not been able to discover anything about its compiler.

⁵ In some cases the right-hand edge of the page has been frayed away, thus occasioning the loss of a few final letters. These have been supplied in the present edition and their occurrence noted. For a full account of the editorial principles adopted see 'The Text', p. xxxviiif.

There are no catchwords and no marginal glosses. The author has divided his narrative into sections by spacing large blocks of text a few lines below a preceding section and by heavily shading the first few words of each such section.

There can be little doubt that Egerton 2402 is an autograph. On two pages immediately preceding the text of the *Life* (ff. 2, 2^v) and at the end of both the *Life* and of his poems Cavendish has left ample testimony to his authorship. On f. 2,¹ in the same hand as that in which the text is written, we find the word '⟨I⟩hesu' at the extreme upper edge of the page and beneath it the word 'Cardynalles', followed by the lines:

vincit qui patitur// q^d G.C.
Maxima vindicta pacienda.

Under this is written 'Cauendyssh de Cauendyss in Comitatu Suffolk gent' and a little further down the page, 'I begane this booke the 4 day of november.' On f. 2^v the initials 'G.C.' are written vertically along the left-hand side of the page and beneath them is the motto of the Cavendish family, 'Concordia res crescent Cavendo tutus.' F. 3 is blank and on f. 3^v we find the name C. Rossington, followed by an addition apparently in the hand of Mr. Lloyd, who possessed the manuscript in the early nineteenth century, 'i.e. Clement Rossington of Dronfield Gent. whose son Mr James Rossington gave me this MS.' At the bottom of the first page of the text (f. 4) the author has written 'ffinis. q^d G.C.' and these words also occur at the end of several of Cavendish's individual poems later in the manuscript. On f. 149, after the 'Lenvoy de Auctour' but before the final epitaph on Queen Mary, occur the lines:

ffinie Et compile le xxiiij^{or} Iour de
Junij a^{ls} regnorum Philippi Regis & Regine
Marie/ iiij^{to} & v^{to}
per lc auctor G.C./

¹ f. 1 contains an engraving of a Holbein Henry VIII, pasted in by a later hand. This picture is the same as that reproduced by Singer in his edition of the *Life* (Chiswick, 1825, 2 vols.), II, 91.

Immediately beneath them is written

Nous Rex/ nova lex/ Noua sola Regina
probz. peur Ruina(?).¹

The nature of the text itself bears out the evidence of the above passages. Interlineations and cancellations are frequent and occasionally involve changes in the meaning of the text. More often, however, these corrections result from the fact that the author either wrote the same word twice by mistake² or overestimated the width of his page. He did not hyphenate words but rather, if he found after beginning a word that he did not have room to complete it at the end of the line, he cancelled the syllables already written (or sometimes the whole word, if it was too cramped to be easily legible) and began the word again on the next line. After a careful study of these cancellations and interlineations, all of which are noted in the present edition, I am inclined to think that Egerton 2402 does not represent Cavendish's first draft of his work or his 'foul papers', but is rather his fair copy.³ In any event there can be little doubt that the author subjected his book to frequent revision and that he proof-read it with extreme care. As can be seen from the text, the *Life* has required a very small amount of emendation.

Previous Editions

Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* remained in manuscript from the time of its composition (1554–8) until 1641, when a garbled edition appeared from the press of William Sheares.⁴ Meanwhile the work had been widely circulated in manuscript form and large portions of it had been incorporated into the chronicles of Stowe, Holinshed, and Speed.⁵ The manuscripts from which the chroniclers worked, though not preserving the

¹ The reading is uncertain.

² This is the sort of mistake that a writer who is copying one manuscript from another often makes. It is usually less frequent in an original first draft.

³ This is certainly not true of the poems, where several stanzas are left incomplete.

⁴ There was also a pirated edition in the same year. For an account of the editions prior to Singer's, see Appendix D.

⁵ There are at least thirty-one extant secondary manuscripts. These are described in Appendix E. The uses to which Cavendish's *Life* was put by later writers are discussed in Appendix D.

full text of Egerton 2402, nevertheless contained a great deal more of the *Life* than did the 1641 edition. The autograph manuscript itself was not discovered until the early nineteenth century when S. W. Singer made what has been to this day the only attempt to produce a scholarly edition.¹

Singer, as he tells us in his preface, had at first decided to edit the *Life* by collating as many of the secondary manuscripts as he could discover. 'Upon naming the design to my friend Mr. Douce, he mentioned to me a very curious copy in the possession of Mr. Lloyd. . . . Upon application to that gentleman, he . . . immediately placed the manuscript in my hands.'² Convinced that Mr. Lloyd's manuscript was the autograph, Singer tried to trace back its history and was able, in his second edition, to offer the following note:

Mr. Hunter informs me that Clement Rossington the elder, who must be here alluded to, died in 1737. He acquired the manor of Dronfield by his marriage with Sarah Burton, sister and co-heir of Ralph Burton, of Dronfield, Esq. who died in 1714. The father of Ralph and Sarah Burton was Francis Burton, also of Dronfield, who was aged twenty-five at the visitation of Derbyshire, 1662, and the mother, Helen, daughter and heir of Cassibelan Burton, son of William Burton the distinguished antiquary and historian of Leicestershire. There is good reason to believe that the Rossingtons were not likely to *purchase* a book of this curiosity, and it is therefore more than probable that it once formed part of the library of William Burton, other books which had been his having descended to them.³

I have been unable to add anything to Hunter's theory of the early history of the manuscript.

A good deal of information regarding Singer's edition can be obtained from the loose sheets of paper which Douce inserted into his own copy of the 1825 edition, now in the Bodleian

¹ *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey and Metrical Visions* (Cavendish's poems), ed. S. W. Singer, 2 vols., Chiswick, 1825, and 1 vol. (without the poems), London, 1827. Most of the subsequent editions have been based on Singer's text. The two other independent editions, those of William Morris (transcribed by F. S. Ellis) for the Kelmscott Press (Hammersmith, 1893) and that of the Alcuin Press (Chipping Campden, 1930) are 'art' editions. Though both claim to be 'faithfully transcribed' they are in fact, particularly Morris's, shot through with errors. Neither provides any scholarly apparatus.

² 1825 ed., I, xv-xvi.

³ 1827 ed., p. xv, n. 3. Not in the 1825 ed.

Library. We there learn that Singer had received Mr. Lloyd's manuscript by 14 May 1821. Douce also records that the autograph was later sold 'at Mr. Lloyd's sale March 1833 for £81. 14 to Thorpe, perhaps for Heber.' The Rev. Thomas Corser either acquired the manuscript through that sale or came to possess it later, for it was from his library that the British Museum purchased it at Manchester on 13 December 1876.¹

In editing the autograph manuscript, Singer decided, with somewhat unfortunate consequences, to 'take the spelling and pointing into his own hands.'² The present edition has been undertaken in an effort to remove from the text many of the errors that crept into it either from Singer's misreadings of the manuscript or from the carelessness of subsequent revisers.³ The amount of corruption that has overtaken the *Life* since the discovery of the autograph manuscript is, of course, scarcely comparable to that which it underwent in the hands of the sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century scribes; but it has been sufficiently pervasive to warrant an edition such as the present one, which lays claim to have firmly established the text upon a permanent, scholarly basis.

George Cavendish

It was not until the present century that a good deal of the mystery and legend which had previously surrounded the early

¹ According to a pencilled note on the fly leaf of the manuscript. See also the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1876–81), pp. 282–3.

² 1825 ed., i, xxi. He attempted to keep the original spelling and punctuation in the poems, which, however, he did not include in his one-volume edition of 1827. Many of Singer's pencilled glosses are still visible in the autograph manuscript.

³ The following list of some of Singer's errors will furnish concrete evidence of the degree to which he found Cavendish's manuscript 'difficult' or even 'illegible'. I give Singer's reading, followed by the page number of his first edition, volume 1, and then my own reading: things, 3, trouthe; farther, 4, fyrist; there at school with him, 5, at scole there w^t hymc; therby to have appeased, 7, therby to appese; it chanced my said Lord, 7, Yt chaunced the lord; this schoolmaster, 8, The Scole M^r; also to be destitute, 8, to be also destitute; in the present sight, 9, in present sight; was in his head, 9, was pact in his hede; the king one day counselling, 10, the kyng consultyng; of weight and gravity, 10, of waytie gravitie; enterprise and journey, 10, enterpriced lourney; by ten of the clock, 12, by fore x^{en} of cloke; persons, 26, prisoners; precinct, 28, provynce; opposed, 217, oppressed; forced, 227, ffierced (i.e. 'Farced').

history of the Cavendish family began to be removed through the patient efforts of genealogists. Since the descendants of Sir William Cavendish (George's brother) rose to the peerage within two generations of his death,¹ it behoved the pedigree-makers of the seventeenth century to provide them with a Norman ancestry which, passing lightly over the family's Tudor origin, would place its foundations deep in the ancient history of the realm. Thus we are informed that the Cavendishes go back to a certain Ralf de Gernon (d. 1248) and stem directly from the famous Chief Justice of Richard II's reign, Sir John Cavendish.² Incidentally, we are told the legendary story of how John Cavendish, the son of the Chief Justice, slew Wat Tyler at Smithfield and how the enraged peasants retaliated by later beheading Sir John himself at Bury St. Edmunds.³

The facts of the matter, as they affect the ancestry of Wolsey's biographer and his brother, are by no means so extraordinary. The Cavendish family, so far as it can be ascertained, goes back to a certain 'William atte Watre' of Ewell, Surrey, whose son, Thomas (d. 1348) changed his name to 'Thomas de Cavendish' after that of the London mercer, Walter de Cavendish, whom he served as apprentice from 1304 to 1312.⁴ The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Cavendishes were all mercers and drapers of the city, one of them (Stephen, d. 1372) serving as Lord Mayor. After the death of Stephen's children and those of his brother John (d. 1349), the pedigree shows a gap until we reach William Cavendish, mercer (d. 1433) and his brother Robert, Serjeant-at-law (d. 1439). Not enough data have survived to prove that William and Robert were closely related to the

¹ The Devonshire family obtained its barony in 1605 and its earldom in 1676. The two ducal families of Devonshire and Newcastle both trace their descent from William Cavendish. For a full account, see the Rev. Joseph Hunter's pamphlet, 'Who wrote Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*'? (1814), reprinted in Singer's edition of the *Life*, II, xiii-lxxii.

² This pedigree is given in full detail by Collins. See his *Peerage* (1768), I, 279-83. The best modern account of the family's early history is in J. Horace Round's *Family Origins and other Studies* (London, 1930), pp. 22-32, which forms the basis for the present study.

³ Wat Tyler was killed on 15 June, 1381 by a certain Ralf Standish; Sir John Cavendish had actually been executed the day before. See Round, pp. 28-30.

⁴ Round, p. 26.

famous Chief Justice; it seems probable that there was some connection between them, for Sir John's daughter-in-law (Alice Neel, d. 1419) made the brothers her executors, but beyond this suggestion we are not able to go.¹

It was this William Cavendish, mercer of London, who was the great grandfather of the author of the *Life of Wolsey*. At his death in 1433 he left one son, Thomas, who died in 1477.² Thomas had married Catherine Scudamore, who died on 15 September 1499 and was buried at St. Botolph's, Aldersgate.³ Catherine and Thomas had one son, also named Thomas, the father of our author and his brother William.⁴ We know a good deal more about this Thomas Cavendish (the younger) than we do of his immediate ancestors, for it was apparently he that first brought the family name into governmental work. Some time before 1488⁵ he had married Alice, the daughter and

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

² Thomas Ruggles, 'Notices of the Manor of Cavendish, in Suffolk, and of the Cavendish family while possessed of that Manor,' *Archaeologia*, xi (1794), 50–62. Ruggles's article is accurate for the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century history of the family but its statements about the earlier Cavendishes need considerable correction.

³ See the inscription on her tomb in John Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (London, 1631), Sig. Nnn5. Weever also records the epitaphs of George's mother Alice (12 November 1515) and Margaret, the second wife of his brother William (16 June 1540) from the same church. His inscriptions agree with the three 'hic jacet's' that a nineteenth-century hand has copied into the back of the autograph manuscript. Weever says that he got the epitaphs from 'Robert Treswell, Esquire, Somerset Herald, lately deceased' who had copied them 'about some thirtie seuen yeares since' [i.e. not after 1594]. Few or none of them, he adds, 'are to be found at this present time.' Since the reading of the epitaphs in Egerton 2402 agrees quite closely with Weever's text, it seems impossible to determine whether or not these were copied from Weever or from some other source. The oldest monument now in St. Botolph's, which was rebuilt in 1741, dates only from 1563.

⁴ Ruggles, *op. cit.*, says that Thomas Cavendish, George's father, had four sons, one of whom was also named 'Thomas. I have found no reference to these other two sons, however; there was a sister, Mary Cavendish, who was alive in 1524.

⁵ According to the *IPM* taken at his death (R. O., E152/607/13), which refers to him and his wife as married in that year. Reference is also made to Thomas Cavendish's acquisition of the manor of Overhall from 'John Bourghchier Lord Ferrers of Groby, William Chapman, and John Clerke of Cavendish, Suffolk' by a deed of 4 July, 1488. This would seem to be, contrary to Ruggles's statement that the manor belonged to the Cavendishes in the early fifteenth century, the first record of their possession of it. Francis Bickley in his *The Cavendish Family* (London, 1911), p. 7, says that George Cavendish had to defend his inheritance against the claims of Ferrers and Clerke in 1525, but I have found no reference to such claims having been made.

heir of John Smyth the younger of Padbrook Hall, Suffolk, and by this time he was already associated with the Exchequer. He became Clerk of the Pipe under Henry VII and held that office until his death on 13 April 1524. It is more than likely that the elder Cavendish first came into contact with Wolsey while serving in the Exchequer and it may well be that it was through his father's offices that young George Cavendish was placed in the cardinal's service. We can gather a good deal about Thomas's duties from the following description of the work that his position entailed. A 'Clerk of the Pipe' was

... an officer in the kings exchequer, who hauing all accounts and debts due to the king delivered and drawne downe out of the Remembrancers offices, chargeth them downe into the great rolle: who also writeth summons to the Shyreeue, to levie the said debts vpon the goods and catels of deptors: and if they haue no goods, then doth he drawe them downe to the L. treasurers remembrancer, to write extreats [i.e. 'estreats', copies of original fines or amercements (*O.E.D.*)] against their lands. The awncient revenew of the Crowne, remaineth in charge afore him, & he seeth the same answered by the fermers & shyreeues to the King. He maketh a charge to al Shyreeues of their summons of the pipe and greenwax, and seeth it answered vpon their accompts. He hath the drawing and ingrossing of all leases of the Kings land.¹

Thomas Cavendish retained the royal favour under both Henry VII and Henry VIII.² He is twice mentioned as a recipient of emoluments from the king,³ and he gradually

¹ John Cowell, *The Interpreter: or Booke Containing the Signification of Words* (Cambridge, 1607), Sigs. P3–P3v. The 'Clerks of the Pipe' were so called because 'their Records that are registered in their smallest Rolles, are altogether like Organe Pipes.' (Weever, op. cit., Sig. Nnn5v.)

² He and his wife are mentioned in Henry VIII's general pardon of 1509 (LP, 2nd ed., revised by R. H. Brodie, I, Part 1, 438). The description of the Cavendishes is as follows: 'Thomas Cavendissh, Caudissh or Candissh, of London, and Cavendissh, Suff., g[entleman] of the Exchequer of Henry VII, s[on] and h[eir] of Thomas C., esq; and Alice his wife, d[daughter] and h[eir] of John Smyth, jun., late of Cavendissh, Suff. esq., and kinswoman and h[eir] of John Smyth, senior, of Cavendish, 13 July [1509].'

³ See the *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, where he is said to have received £10 'during pleasure' from Henry VII (II, 2736, p. 877) and is mentioned in a royal grant of 8 February, 1520 (III, 644). In May of that year his name appears in an account of 'stuff' used by the Queen (III, 852).

acquired a considerable amount of property in his native Suffolk. A subsidy list of April? 1522 for the hundred of Babergh, Suffolk, shows that he owned lands there worth £25 by the year.¹ In 1524 a similar list for Samford describes him as having £6 6s. 8d. in goods in that hundred.² His will³ and the Inquisition Post Mortem taken after his death testify to the relatively comfortable circumstances that he and his family enjoyed.

George Cavendish, the author of the *Life of Wolsey*, was probably the eldest and certainly the eldest surviving son of Thomas and Alice. We cannot precisely determine the date of his birth, but it probably occurred in 1499.⁴ His early life and education must remain conjectural, but we know that he was at Cambridge in 1510, at about the age of eleven.⁵ He may have remained there for some years, but he left without taking a degree. In 1515, Alice Cavendish died⁶ and George's father then married a certain 'Agnes', whose maiden name has not survived in the records.

It could not have been more than a few years after his mother's death that George Cavendish himself married for the first time. Confirmation of this first marriage is based on very late evidence, but there seems to be little reason to question its authenticity. On 16 October 1834, Richard Almack of Melford, Suffolk, wrote to the *Gentleman's Magazine* describing a carving (apparently designed for a mantelpiece) that had been uncovered in excavations near the old site of Cavendish Overhall. The carving showed the Cavendish arms⁷ impaling

¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., 'Ancaster MSS.' (1907), p. 495.

² 'Suffolk in 1524,' *Suffolk Green Books*, No. x (Woodbridge, 1910), p. 305. The subsidy was paid by 15 February 1524, two months before Thomas's death.

³ P.C.C. Bodfelde 23. It was made on 13 April 1524, the day of his death, and proved on 22 August. For the *IPM* see above, p. xv. n. 5.

⁴ His father's *IPM* shows him to have been twenty-four years old on 18 May 1524, thus fixing his birth between 18 May 1499 and 19 May 1500. Since Alice and Thomas were married by 1488, it is not unlikely that, before George's birth, they may have had other children who did not survive.

⁵ *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, ed. C. H. and Thompson Cooper, 2 vols. (1858), i, 217.

⁶ See her epitaph in Weever, op. cit. It does not appear that Thomas had any further children by Agnes, who is mentioned as his widow in his will.

⁷ 'S. 3 stags' heads cabossed A.' *Athen. Cant.*, i, 218.

those of Spring. The writer continues his description as follows:

The arms impaled are those used by the Springs of Pakenham, in this county, who became Baronets, and were descended from Thomas Spring of Lavenham, who died 1486. Lavenham is about seven miles from Cavendish, and the Springs were very wealthy clothiers, and intermarried with the De Veres Earls of Oxford.¹

We do not know which daughter of the Spring family George married, nor can we be certain about the date of the marriage itself. It may have occurred after his entry into Wolsey's service.²

Whatever may have been the circumstances of this first marriage, it may safely be conjectured that George's first wife died not long afterwards. For it would appear that he married again in the early 1520s, this time with Margery Kemp, the daughter of William Kemp and Mary Colt of Spains Hall, Essex.³ Once again the date of his marriage eludes us and we are forced to fall back upon the internal evidence afforded by a somewhat ambiguous passage in the *Life of Wolsey* itself. After his arrest at Cawood in 1530 the cardinal said to his faithful servant:

ffor nowe/ q^d he/ that I se this gentilman/ (meanyng by me) howe faythefull/ howe diligent/ And howe paynfull, sync the begynneng of my troble/ he hathe serued me/ Abandonyng his owen contrie/ his wyfe & childeyne/ his howsse & famelye/ his rest & quyotnes/ only to serue me/ etc.⁴

This passage was cautiously and correctly interpreted by Hunter as indicating that the author of the *Life* 'was married,

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, Vol. III, Jan. to June 1835, p. 613. A drawing of the carving is reproduced in Almack's article.

² That is, at some time prior to 1522. See below.

³ See Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of Essex* (London, 1768), 2 vols., II, 363. Mary Colt was the sister of Sir Thomas More's first wife Jane, perhaps the younger sister whom More favoured when 'of a certain pity' he married the elder. See the anecdote in Roper's *Life of More*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock (E.E.T.S., o.s. 197, 1935), p. 6. A genealogy of the Colts is given on p. 107.

⁴ Below, 159/1-5.

and had a family *probably* before he entered into the Cardinal's service, *certainly* while he was engaged in it.¹ Since there is no record of any children by Cavendish's first marriage and since we know that he had at least a son (William) and a daughter (Jane)² in the second, it would appear safe to conclude that it was to his second wife that the cardinal alluded. And if Cavendish had, according to Wolsey, several 'children' while in the cardinal's service, we may probably conclude that his second marriage occurred at some time between 1520 and 1525.

We are on somewhat surer ground when we attempt to establish the date of Cavendish's entry into Wolsey's service. It is not unlikely, as we mentioned previously, that Thomas Cavendish, through his position in the Treasury, was able to procure a post for his son. In the *Life* itself Cavendish speaks as an eye-witness for the first time when he relates the Percy-Anne episode, which occurred in 1522.³ Thus we can be sure that he was in Wolsey's service by that date and he may have entered the household even earlier. Apart from the evidence which his book furnishes, we have only a reference in the *Chronicle of Calais* to a 'master Caundishe' who was in Wolsey's retinue during the trip to France in 1527.⁴ Our author may also be identified with the 'George Cavendish' who was 'escheator' for Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire during 1528 and 1529, an office which George may have owed to the influence of the cardinal.⁵

The *Life of Wolsey* itself provides us with our best account

¹ Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. xli.

² See below, p. xxv.

³ See the historical note to 29/34.

⁴ See the note to 44/25-26. Cavendish's name does not appear in the list of the cardinal's servants that attended him on the 1521 embassy to Bruges, but a 'Richard Candyshe' is mentioned there. See MS. Harley 620, f. 41, reprinted in the *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 97-8. 'Richard' may possibly be an error for 'George', but it is more likely that he is to be identified with a 'Richard Cavendish' who is frequently mentioned in the *Letters and Papers* between 1530 and 1550 as one of Cromwell's agents and as a government official. It is not impossible that this Richard may have been one of the 'four sons' that, according to Ruggles, Thomas Cavendish is supposed to have had. A subsidy roll for Wolsey's household in 1525 (partially calendared in LP, IV, 6185) is also extant, but I have been unable to obtain any additional information about this list,

⁵ *Tenth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records*, Appendix, ii, 6.

of the nature of Cavendish's duties while in the service of the great cardinal. There we find him entrusted with many tasks, all of them resulting more or less directly from his primary obligation of 'attending personally upon my lord'. He was primarily a messenger, as he shows himself to have been on the French embassy, one who prepared the way for the arrival of the cardinal himself. The servants of the household looked to him for instructions and, in 1527, it was to him that the preparations for the great banquet at Hampton Court were entrusted. The character of Bassiolo in Chapman's comedy *The Gentleman Usher* (1606, written about 1602) embodies a convenient summary of the duties that an office like Cavendish's entailed:

- Lasso: Say, now, Bassiolo, you on whom relies
 The general disposition of my house
 In this our preparation for the Duke,
 Are all our officers at large instructed
 For fit discharge of their peculiar places?
- Bas: At large, my lord, instructed.
- Las: Are all our chambers hung? Think you our house
 Ample capacious to lodge all the train?
- Bas: Ample capacious, I am passing glad.
 And now, then, to our mirth and musical show,
 Which, after supper, we intend t'endure,
 Welcome's chief dainties; for choice cates at home
 Ever attend on princes, mirth abroad.¹

We may note here the rather remarkable circumstance that no evidence, except for his marriage with Margery Kemp, has survived to connect George Cavendish with the circle of Sir Thomas More. Margery was More's niece by marriage and it seems likely that Cavendish would have known the Lord Chancellor with some intimacy. Moreover, he would have seen More frequently in his days as Wolsey's servant. Yet not only is there nothing in the records to testify to contacts between Cavendish and More's relatives, but the *Life*

¹ George Chapman, 'The Gentleman Usher', in *The Plays and Poems of George Chapman*, ed. T. M. Parrott, 2 vols. (London, 1910), II, 242.

of Wolsey itself makes no mention of Sir Thomas.¹ The only explanation for these omissions would seem to rest on the fact that More, Harpsfield, and Roper were all extremely hostile to Wolsey and his policies. More himself had delivered a scathing speech against the cardinal at the opening of Parliament in 1529² and, in the *Lives* of Harpsfield and Roper, Wolsey is accused of instigating the divorce and thus setting in motion the series of events that estranged England from Rome. Cavendish, who manifests a deep sympathy for Wolsey, would not have agreed with such an interpretation of the cardinal's character. And, in the middle 1550s, when not only the *Life of Wolsey* but also the biographies of Harpsfield and Roper were being written and the great edition of More's *Works* was going through the press, the former gentleman-usher would have stood almost alone in his balanced attitude towards his old master. Pro-Catholic though he was, Cavendish may have thought it better to omit all mention of More in the interests of friendship than to attack the opinions of a man to whom he was related.

George Cavendish left the service of the great for ever in 1530 when, after Wolsey's death, he refused the king's offer of a post in the royal household. He returned 'to his country' and probably remained at Cavendish Overhall, living the life of a country gentleman, until shortly before the end of his life. Thomas Cavendish had died in 1524 and George, who was appointed overseer of the will, inherited all his father's estate except for his 'lands in Kent',³ which were given to George's step-mother Agnes 'to sell for herself'. £40 was put aside for Mary's (George's sister) wedding portion, but we cannot tell if she was ever able to put it to use. Agnes was still alive on

¹ In one place at least Cavendish seems to have deliberately suppressed More's name. See 79/30–33, where he describes Fisher's martyrdom (22 June, 1535), which occurred only a few weeks before More's own on 6 July. We might have expected Cavendish to mention the fact that More succeeded Wolsey as Lord Chancellor. But the only possible reference to More in the *Life* may occur in the speech of the anonymous council member (131/3–20 and n.).

² Reported by Hall in his *Chronicle* (1809 reprint), p. 764.

³ These 'lands' would probably have included the alienation of rent in Canterbury which Thomas Cavendish and others received in a grant of 22 October 1512. See LP (2nd ed., revised by R. H. Brodie), I, 1463g. (27).

24 December 1531, when she is mentioned in a grant as holding 'a tenement called the White Bere, in the parishes of St. Mary Magdalene and All Saints, in Westcheap and Bread Street, London'.¹

When George Cavendish retired to Suffolk, disillusioned by his experiences in the service of princes, his brother William (1505?–57) was just beginning a career which, through his own endeavours and the happy fortune of two wealthy marriages, was eventually to lead him to the office of Treasurer in the king's household. The story of William's rise in the royal favour is available elsewhere² and its stages can be verified in the numerous references to him in the *Letters and Papers* after 1530. He became an agent for Cromwell in the dissolution of the monasteries and somehow managed to escape unscathed when his master was executed in 1540. We may note that it was perhaps through the offices of his brother that William was first introduced to Cromwell;³ George Cavendish, as the *Life of Wolsey* shows us, knew the cardinal's secretary extremely well. The two brothers seem to have maintained some contact with each other, but George refused to profit from the sale of monastic lands, a process through which William, like so many men of the period, built himself a sizeable fortune.

Of George himself, in the years between his retirement from court and his death, we know relatively little. His name occurs occasionally in the *Letters and Papers* and some idea of his activities from 1530 until 1558 can be gleaned from the references there. Thus we find him listed as one of the commissioners for Bedfordshire who were making inquiries into the Tents of Spiritualities in 1535;⁴ and on 24 August of the following year he sat on a commission that was conducting an investigation of certain 'articles' supposed to have been spoken against Cromwell by 'Dan Aswell', the Test Prior of St. Albans.⁵ These

¹ LP, V, 606.

² For example, in the *D.N.B.* or in Hunter's article. A portrait of Sir William at the age of forty-four (formerly in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire) is reproduced in A. S. Turberville's *History of Welbeck Abbey*, 2 vols. (London, 1938–9), I, 20.

³ Bickley's suggestion, op. cit., p. 11.

⁴ LP, VIII, 1535; the grant is dated 30 January.

⁵ LP, XI, 354, ii.

commissions no doubt involved Cavendish in official duties that, as a country gentleman, he could not avoid when they were imposed upon him. His service on two of Cromwell's committees would seem to indicate that, even if he did not approve of the government's policies, he went along with the tide, at least temporarily. Neither commission involved any extended service and, after 1536, we no longer find him serving in any public capacity. In October 1541, he participated in a conveyance of lands that his brother William had arranged in preparation for his third marriage, this time with Elizabeth Paris, later Countess of Shrewsbury.¹

It was about 1543 that George's son William married a certain Anne Coxe, the daughter of John Coxe, and it was apparently as a part of the marriage settlement that George 'levied a fine' on his manors of Overhall and Netherhall.² The resultant agreement between John Coxe and Cavendish stipulated that the former should pay a sum of £400 (the marriage portion) in return for which Cavendish would put his manor in trust for his son William and Anne, William's wife. Such a method of alienating land was a common practice in the sixteenth century although, strictly speaking, a licence to alienate should first have been obtained. A pardon for alienation without licence was granted to Cavendish in 1545. The Coxes, in any event, were taking no chances on the manors slipping out of their family's hands after the marriage. That the properties were fairly rich

¹ Patent Roll, 33 Hen. VIII, p. 4, m. 26, calendared in LP, XVI, 1308 (34). They were married on 3 November 1541.

² The legal procedure involved here is explained as follows by the *O.E.D.*: A fine was 'the compromise of a fictitious or collusive suit for the possession of lands: formerly in use as a mode of conveyance in cases where the ordinary modes were not available or equally efficacious. . . . The person to whom the land was to be conveyed sued the holder for wrongfully keeping him out of possession; the defendant (hence called the cognizor [in this case, George Cavendish]) acknowledged the right of the plaintiff (or cognizee [here John Coxe and a certain John Seymour]); the compromise was entered on the records of the court; and the particulars of it were set forth in a document called the *foot of the fine*.' This device was often used by married women, who could alienate land only in this manner, and to bar entails. The 'cognizor' was said to have 'acknowledged' or 'levied' the fine. The relevant documents for Cavendish's fine are the Feet of Fines for Suffolk, Trinity Term, 35 Hen. VIII (R. O.) and a Patent Roll (P. 17, m. 21) of 37 Hen. VIII, the latter calendared in LP, XX, Part II, 910 (82), 6 November 1545.

ones at this date is shown by the text of the fine, which lists the following items:

the manors of Overhall and Netherhall and 3 messuages, 10 cottages, one watermill, 300 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture, 12 acres of woods, 100 acres of heath and furze, and 40s. rent in Overhall, Netherhall, and Cavendish.

Whether George continued to live at Glemsford after this settlement cannot be shown with certainty; but, if he can be identified with the 'George Cavendysshe' who, in 1546, is described as holding tenure in some tenements near Dunstable, Bedfordshire, then it would seem that he had already given up his manor to his son.¹ Certainly the agreement of 1543 prepared the way for his final enfeoffment of his property to William in 1557. It may also be noted that, in 1546, George and an 'Anthony Stubbinge' are mentioned in a royal 'book of orders' as owing £32 10s. to the crown.² The debt, however, was not large and there seems to be no indication that Cavendish was in any sort of financial distress. We know from his book that life as a Catholic in these times was often bitter for him, but he seems to have enjoyed a modest competence during his later years.

Whatever may have been George's whereabouts between 1546 and 1557, it was on 1 October of the latter year that he made a permanent grant of Overhall and Netherhall to his son. The indenture notes that William had already paid a competent sum for the manors (presumably in addition to the £400 of 1543) and had released to George a yearly payment of twenty marks. As a final settlement, the contract stipulates that William shall pay George £40 per year for life, the payments to begin on 25 March, 1558, and to be paid 'at the Scite of the manor of Spaines Hall with in the parishe of Finchingfeld', Essex.³ George Cavendish acknowledged the indenture on 16 January 1558; one year later, on 15 January 1559 we find William named in Elizabeth's general pardon of that date and

¹ See Patent Roll, 37 Hen. VIII, P. 16, m. 25, calendared in LP, XX, Part II, 1068 (46).

² LP, XXI, Part I, 1280, fol. 43, 30 May 1546.

³ Close Roll, 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, Part I (R. O., C54/525).

described as 'of Glemysforde, co. Suffolk, alias of Cavendyshe, co. Suffolk'.¹

Spains Hall belonged to Robert Kemp, the son of William Kemp and the brother of George's wife, Margery. It was apparently at Spains Hall that George put the finishing touches to his *Life* of the cardinal and his *Poems*, completing his manuscript on 24 June 1558. He was certainly alive six months or so later when he wrote his epitaph on Queen Mary and added a postscript prophesying 'ruin' for England under its new government.

There seems to be no certain evidence regarding the date of George's death. Ruggles² conjectured that it occurred in 1561 or 1562, but the only evidence he could cite was the fact that William Cavendish was in possession of Overhall in 1562. Since George's son, as we have seen, already possessed the manor in 1559, the latter date is of little importance. But George was almost certainly dead by 28 June 1562 when his brother-in-law, Arthur Kemp, made his will.³ Arthur specifically mentions 'my sister Cauvendish' and 'Jane her daughter' but does not refer to George. William himself seems to have died between 1562 and 1565; his son (also named William) was a London mercer, back at the trade of his fifteenth-century forebears. In 1569 he sold the manor outright to William Downes of Sudbury, Suffolk; after that date, the family's connections with Cavendish Overhall cease altogether.⁴

Thus there is good reason to believe that the former gentleman-usher had ample opportunity to put into practice the maxim that he affixed to the opening pages of his *Life of Wolsey*—'Vincit qui patitur, Maxima vindicta pacientia'.⁵ The last thirty years of Cavendish's life must indeed have been years of patience, years in which he had ample time to meditate upon the vagaries of Fortune, 'wherof for my part', he tells us,

¹ Calendar of Patent Rolls Elizabeth, 1558–1560, p. 162.

² Ruggles, op. cit.; see also W. A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk*, 7 vols. (London, 1905–11), 1, 62.

³ P.C.C. Streat 25, proved 13 October 1562. George Cavendish himself appears to have died intestate. I have found no record of his making a will; nor, apparently, was there an inquisition held at his death.

⁴ For these later transactions, see Ruggles, p. 59.

⁵ The expression was a proverbial one, occurring in Chaucer and Langland. See Skeat's note (v. 388) to 'The Franklin's Tale,' l. 771.

'I haue tasted of thexperience' (10/26-7). The triumph that his patience achieved was not a material one; on this side of the grave it rests upon the literary excellence of the biography which he wrote in his old age, the *Life* of the great cardinal whom he had served as a young man.

Date of Composition

When we turn from the somewhat scattered facts that comprise what we know of the life of George Cavendish to a consideration of his book itself, a good deal more information becomes available. His own statements provide us with some knowledge of when he wrote his *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* and these statements can be supplemented from internal evidence. According to the autograph manuscript, Cavendish finished his manuscript on 24 June 1558;¹ at the beginning of the *Life* (f. 2) he tells us that he began his book on the fourth day of November, but he does not give the year. We are thus provided with a satisfactory *terminus ad quem* for the *Life*,² but Cavendish's statement about the day on which he began his manuscript presents us with a problem that is not so easily solved.

There are only two references in the text that enable us to fix the date of composition more exactly.³ In the early part of his narrative (21/22-4) Cavendish speaks of 'themprour Charles the 5 that nowe reygnyth and nowe ffather vnto kyng Phillipre our Souerayn lord'. This passage has a double signifi-

¹ See above, p. x. The manuscript must have remained in Cavendish's hands until after 17 November 1558, for at some time after that date he composed his epitaph on Queen Mary and added his final note on the 'ruin' which was likely to ensue now that Elizabeth was on the throne. When he introduced this poem on Mary's death into his book, he seems to have disturbed its binding. Thus the poems, as we have them today, are not in their original order. For a full discussion of the binding of the manuscript see E. P. Hammond's edition of selections from the poems in *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey* (Durham, North Carolina, 1927), pp. 366-70.

² It seems impossible to determine precisely how long before 24 June 1558 Cavendish began work on his poems. Judging by the order in which they appear in the manuscript they would seem to have been composed after the *Life*, presumably, let us say, in 1557-8. On the basis of the internal evidence, there is no reason to suppose that any portion of the *Life* itself, except perhaps for final revisions, was written after 1557.

³ The allusion to 'the frenche kynges second Sonne . . . at this present kyng of ffraunce' (62/12-13) merely indicates a date between 1546 and 1559, the years of Henry II's reign.

cance, for we know that Philip did not become emperor until his father abdicated in January 1556. It would thus seem that this portion of the text was written after July 1554, but before the news of Charles's retirement had reached England in 1556. Cavendish's 'fourth of November' must then refer to either 1554 or 1555. Further evidence is provided by the author's reference to 'mr Ratclyfe Sonne & heyer to the lord ffitzwalter and after Erle of Sussex' (61/17–18). The Rev. Joseph Hunter, who first proved conclusively that George Cavendish and not his brother William was the author of the *Life*,¹ argued from the evidence of this passage that the *Life* must have been written before 17 February 1557, the date of Henry Radcliffe's death. Hunter, however, used one of the secondary manuscripts in which the passage read 'and now Earl of Sussex' instead of Cavendish's 'and after Earl of Sussex'. On the basis of the autograph manuscript it appears that this part of the text must have been composed after February 1557.

In the absence of any other conclusive data, it may well be doubted if we can go any further towards determining when Cavendish began his book. Since both the passages just cited occur in the early part of the *Life*, the period of time that elapsed between them should probably be narrowed as much as possible, thus making 4 November 1555 the more likely date. Even if that date is accepted, it might still seem somewhat unusual that Cavendish spent at least a year and a half on the first third of his work and then crammed the second two-thirds of it, not to mention his poems, into a period of about the same length.² As the matter stands, we can scarcely be more exact in our attempts to date the composition of the work and must be content to rest with the knowledge that the *Life of Wolsey* was written between 4 November 1554 and 24 June 1558.³

¹ In his pamphlet, 'Who Wrote Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*?', cited above, p. xiv, n. 1.

² There is, of course, always the possibility that Cavendish did not hear of Charles's abdication until some time after it took place, or that he was simply careless in his reference to it.

³ In this connection, perhaps attention should be called to the inexact dates which the *O.E.D.* gives in its references to Cavendish. Most of its citations from the *Life* are assigned to 'a. 1562', the presumed date of his death.

Sources

If it were possible to be as certain about the sources from which Cavendish drew some of the materials that went into his *Life of Wolsey* as we can be about the date of its composition, a number of problems which the *Life* raises might be cleared up. We should like to know, for example, if he obtained any of his information from printed sources which were available to him and, if he did make use of such materials, how he developed or modified what he found there. Cavendish himself is fairly explicit about the matter. He tells us, at the opening of the *Life*, that he intends

to wryt heare some parte of the proceedings of the said Legat & Cardynall Wolsey Archebysshope of yorke . . . wherof some parte shalbe of myn owen knowlege And some of other persons Informacion/ etc. (3/27-32)

There can scarcely be any doubt that the major portion of his book is the product of his own direct experience. All of the second half of the *Life*, which concentrates on the last year of Wolsey's career when Cavendish was with him constantly, and much of the first half are presented as eye-witness accounts with Cavendish himself, as gentleman-usher, taking a part in the scenes that are related. Nevertheless, his statement about 'other persons' information' indicates that a certain amount of his material, at any rate, was not drawn directly from his own recollection of events.

An attempt to discover the identity of these 'other persons' and the extent to which Cavendish used them raises immediately the whole question of Cavendish's reliability as a reporter. Since much of the action which takes place in the *Life* is directly concerned with matters of state and public personalities, we are frequently able, by using the *State Papers* and the *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*,¹ to keep a close check on

¹ No previous edition of Cavendish has attempted to make anything like a full use of this material. John Holmes, whose notes are included in Wordsworth's fourth edition (1853) as well as in his own edition of 1852, had access to the *State Papers* but not to the *Letters and Papers*. While often helpful to the reader, his annotations do not attempt to check Cavendish's historical accuracy.

Cavendish's accuracy. If he can be shown to have been exact in those passages where his account can be confirmed, then the credibility of his narrative where he himself is our only witness should carry a considerably greater weight. On the other hand, if errors do occur, we should like to know if there is a possibility that they may be put down to his having relied not 'on his own knowledge' but rather 'on other persons' information', whoever they may have been.

It is apparent from the *Life* itself that one of Cavendish's principal informants for Wolsey's early career, where a good many of the historical errors in the work occur, was the cardinal himself. After describing Wolsey's speedy journey to France when he was a royal chaplain to Henry VII, Cavendish tells us (10/29–30) that he received this tale 'of his [Wolsey's] owen mowthe and report/ after his ffall lyeng at that tyme in the great parke of Richemond'. How much else the cardinal may have told his usher during those dark days of 1530 is matter for speculation, but we do know that they had several conversations of this nature together, two of which are reported later in the *Life*.¹ After the second of these garden talks between servant and master, Cavendish tells us (138/3–4) that 'we had myche more talke', but he does not tell us what he and the cardinal discussed. Such words force an editor of the *Life* into conjecture, but there is at least the possibility that a good part of Cavendish's book resulted from these conversations.

The *Life* tells us little more about Cavendish's other possible informants.² That he did rely chiefly on some such oral information when he was not writing from his own memory seems probable from the manner in which he refers to the printed histories that he had seen. He began his book, he informs us in

¹ See the text, pp. 127 ff. and pp. 135 ff. The first conversation took place at Richmond and the second at Sir William Fitzwilliam's house at Milton Manor, Northampton.

² There are occasional references to conversations or stories that Cavendish 'heard reported from other persons'. Thus he tells us that he relied on the report of 'them that wayted vpon the kyng at dynner' for his account of the conversation between Anne and Henry at Grafton (94/33–4). Earlier he says that he 'had his chapleyn say' that Wolsey always said his office completely through before going to bed (22/36).

his prologue, in order to tell the truth about the cardinal; furthermore, the truth could not be learned from books for

I have harde & also sene sett forthe in divers printed bookeſ ſome vntrue imaginacions after the death of divers parſons . . . that weare inventyed rather to bringe there honest names into infamie & perpetuall slander of the common multitude then otherwyſe.

These were the writers who 'with there blasphemous trompe' had 'ſpred abrode innvermeble lyes . . . where in there is notheng more vnrwe'. Writing as a Catholic in the reign of Mary, Cavendish is determined to correct those distortions of history which he must have considered to have been the Protestant propaganda of the previous two reigns, particularly as they related to the cardinal and the events of his life.

Later on in the first part of the *Life*¹ we find him referring to 'historygraſfers of Cronycles of prynces' (11/8), to 'the writers of Cronycles' (43/10) and to the 'Cronycles of Englond' (50/33). In each case he carefully distinguishes his own biography from the narratives of the historians. He is not deſcribing coronations or relating opinions of governmental policy, but instead is concerned with building up a picture of the life of one man. What is important for our purposes here is that Cavendish shows a considerable familiarity with the chronicles that had appeared before Mary's reign. What were these chronicles and what might they have contributed to the *Life of Wolsey*?

The one historical work published prior to 1554–8 that contains any detailed account of Wolsey's activities was Hall's *Chronicle*,² a book notoriously Protestant in its bias and famed for the defence which it makes of the policies of Henry VIII.

¹ It is interesting to observe that every reference which Cavendish makes to printed books or to other writers occurs in the first portion of his narrative. All but two of them, in fact, come in the first fifty pages and these two (pp. 73 and 78) simply compare his own descriptions with what one might read elsewhere in 'histories or chronicles.' The other references occur on pp. 3, 11, 13, 43, and 50.

² Edward Hall, *The Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre & York*, London, 1542, 1548, 1550. No complete copy of the 1542 edition is now extant. I use the reprint of 1809. Cavendish may very well have read the chronicles of Fabyan (1516, 1533, etc.) and Hardyng (1543, with Grafton's continuation) but these supply little detailed information

It would perhaps be going too far to assert that it was the publication of Hall's work which first prompted Cavendish to begin his *Life*, but there is ample reason to believe both that he knew the *Chronicle* well and that he may have taken some of his material from it. This is not the place to set down the correspondences between Hall and the *Life*, which are cited in detail in the historical notes, but on the basis of the evidence there provided it is possible to generalize on the nature of Cavendish's debt.

While it must be emphasized that Cavendish wrote to correct such versions of history as may be found in Hall, it seems equally true that, as he worked at the *Life*, he was turning over the pages of the historian, refreshing his memory at the same time that he was firing his indignation. The verbal parallels between the two works are often quite close.¹ Thus, for example, the items in Cavendish's list of the presents which the citizens of London gave to the French embassy of 1527 all appear in a similar but more detailed list in Hall.² So too Hall's description of Wolsey at Canterbury, in which he tells us how the cardinal directed the litany to be recited,³ parallels Cavendish's 'Sancta maria ora pro papa nostro Clemente And so pervsed the litteny about Wolsey and the reign of Henry VIII. He seems also to have known the *Chronicles of Englonde* which Wynkyn de Worde edited in 1515 and 1528 (STC 9987 and 10002; see the note to 50/33). It seems unlikely that Cavendish would have had access to other chronicles like the *Chronicle of Calais* or Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, which remained in manuscript until the nineteenth century.

It is not, of course, impossible that Cavendish had seen the third edition (1555) of Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*, which contains a highly prejudiced account of the cardinal. Polydore's first two editions (1534 and 1546), the first of which was certainly used by Hall, carry the story down only so far as 1509. I have not been able to discover any close resemblances between Polydore's narrative and Cavendish's.

It should perhaps also be noted that when Cavendish speaks of the slanders against Wolsey he may be thinking of the verse satires of Skelton, Roy, and Barlowe, or of the anti-Catholic tracts of Barnes, Fish, and Tyndale. For these works, see the article by P. L. Wiley, 'Renaissance Exploitation of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*', *SP*, XLIII (1946), 121–46. In none of these works do we find any close correspondences with Cavendish's narrative, but they undoubtedly contributed to the general atmosphere of dislike for the cardinal against which the gentleman-usher writes.

¹ See Appendix C for the speeches, too long to be given here, at the divorce trial as reported by Hall and Cavendish.

² See the historical notes to p. 66.

³ p. 728, 'S. Maria, ora pro Clemente papa. S. Petre ora pro Clemente papa. & so furthe al y' letany.'

thorouge'. Much more often than not, however, Cavendish, as we might expect, either omits details given by Hall or amplifies Hall's descriptions in order to present a more favourable account of Wolsey.¹ Thus where Hall describes in detail the pomp that the cardinal intended to display at his installation in York cathedral, Cavendish emphasizes the modest ceremonies that were to have taken place and reinforces his account with the statement 'The trowthe wherof I perfectly knowe/ for I was made pryyce to the same/ And sent to yorke to forse all thyng' (148/11-12).

Such parallel or contrasted passages, which can be followed in detail in the notes to the present edition, will not prove that Cavendish actually copied any of Hall's narrative into his own pages in the same manner as the later sixteenth-century historians were to transpose both Hall and Cavendish into theirs;² nor, indeed, are they offered as showing conclusively that Cavendish knew and used Hall's work. They should indicate, however, that of all the writers whom Cavendish may have had in mind when he spoke of the 'Cronycles of prynces', Hall comes closest to satisfying his description. In any event, it seems evident that the words with which Hall concludes his summary of the cardinal's character—'To write the life and doynges of this Cardinal, it were a great worke'—could not have failed, had Cavendish read them, to have inspired the *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*.

Cavendish as Historian

The problem of the sources which Cavendish may have used when he came to compose his *Life of Wolsey* leads directly to the more important question of his own accuracy as a chronicler of events. While it is probable, as has been seen, that he relied to some extent on 'other persons' information', which may have included such 'information' as he could have found in Hall, it

¹ Among other instances, see especially the words put into Suffolk's mouth at the trial scene (90/26-7) and the account of Wolsey's words when arrested by Northumberland (155).

² At times, as in Cavendish's garbled account of the battle of Pavia, one almost wishes that the source of his errors could be found in Hall. For the vexed question of this battle see Appendix B and, for the uses which later writers made of Cavendish, Appendix D.

is nevertheless true that his book has claimed the attention of historians principally because of its value as an eye-witness account in its own right. This has been the case, so far as we can determine, from the very first. The compiler of the materials for a life of Bishop Fisher, who at some time before 1576 copied passages from Cavendish into his manuscript collections,¹ did so in the belief that he was thus preserving a first-hand version of the bishop's words at the divorce trial of 1529. Subsequent Elizabethan historians, who take over much of Cavendish's narrative directly from manuscript, or from Stowe, who first printed portions of it in 1580, accept, with or without acknowledgement, the *Life of Wolsey* as a faithful account of the cardinal's life and times. Even Cavendish's first editor, the Puritan propagandist who published the *Life* in 1641 to demonstrate the parallel between Wolsey's career and Archbishop Laud's, did not, with one exception,² change or attempt to criticize any of Cavendish's statements.

While the historians continue to make use of Cavendish's narrative, it is not until after the Restoration that they begin to question his accuracy. Burnet, whose *History of the Reformation* appeared between 1670 and 1715, was apparently the first historian to comment adversely upon Cavendish's account of the battle of Pavia.³ His strictures were amplified by Wolsey's eighteenth-century apologist, Richard Fiddes, who nevertheless gives us an evaluation of Cavendish's worth as an historian that has been generally accepted down to the present day:

... a Man of Probity, who lived under a Sense of Religion, and spake from the Heart. If he had not all the great Talents, requisite in a Historian, he is yet much to be valued for those Qualities. His Fidelity may be depended upon concerning Things, which

¹ These are now in British Museum MS. Arundel 152. The *Life of Fisher* was edited by Franciscus Van Ortroy in *Analecta Bollandiana*, x (1891), 121–365 and xii (1893), 97–287. Van Ortroy notes that the author, in compiling his materials, 'ne néglige aucun moyen de contrôle et n'affirme rien à la légère' (x, 139).

² He did introduce the words 'at which time it was apparent that he had poisoned himself' into the narrative of Wolsey's last illness. Otherwise, the 1641 edition merely compresses and summarizes Cavendish's work; the distortions it contains result principally from omission, not commission.

³ Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, ed. Nicholas Pocock (7 vols., Oxford, 1865), i, 31.

he relates upon his personal Knowledge, or which fell more directly within the Compass of his own Observation. His Stile is clear, and, for the Time wherein he lived, significant and polite enough. He writes with the free and negligent Air of a Gentleman, which much becomes him; and he is sometimes happy, without appearing to have any such design, in addressing himself to the Imagination and Passions. There are some Passages in him, whereby a Reader who has any true Taste, will find himself agreeably moved. He writes with great Impartiality, and tho' he had an Honour and Esteem for his Master, he does not conceal or dissemble his Failures, nor fly out into any indecent Heats or Expressions, against those, who used him very ill.¹

A similar opinion was voiced in 1810 by a reviewer of Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, in the first volume of which the *Life of Wolsey* was printed for the first time in anything like its full form.² Cavendish, he notes, 'was not one of those unobserving men, who seem never to apprehend that what is familiar to themselves will become curious to posterity. He saw with an exact and discriminating eye, and what he beheld he was able to describe'.³ This was also the judgement of Van Ortry,⁴ whose considered evaluation of Cavendish's accuracy we shall have occasion to discuss later.

But it was left for a great modern historian, A. F. Pollard,⁵ to incorporate the historical evidence which Cavendish preserves into a brilliant biography of Wolsey. As the notes to the present edition will illustrate, a considerable part of the present editor's historical work has already been done for him in this masterly study. For Pollard, Cavendish 'gives us the classic example of history as it appears to a gentleman-usher'.⁶ The

¹ Richard Fiddes, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (London, 1724). 'This passage occurs in Fiddes's 'Collections' of documents, which form the second part of his volume (p. 242).

² Singer (I, xxiv–xxv) says that Joseph Grove, who had reprinted a large part of the 1641 edition of Cavendish in the footnotes to his *Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey* (4 vols., London, 1742–44), later came across one of the better secondary manuscripts and in 1761 'printed off a small impression with a preface and notes'. I have not been able to discover a copy of this volume, which was said by Singer to be 'one of the rarest of English books.'

³ *Quarterly Review*, iv (1810), 97.

⁴ Van Ortry, op. cit., x, 354, note 2. See below, p. xxxvi.

⁵ A. F. Pollard, *Wolsey* (London, 1929).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

gentle irony of his remark by no means indicates that Pollard fails to give Cavendish the fullest possible credit as an observer of events; it does point up the fact that he measures Cavendish's narrative by a far more stringent standard of historical accuracy than had been applied to it by previous biographers of the cardinal who had made use of the *Life of Wolsey*. On the other hand, Pollard's real appreciation of Cavendish's literary achievement¹ enhances the value of those passages in his own biography where he makes most use of Cavendish's narrative.² From his book and from a comparison with contemporary documents of those portions of Cavendish which he does not analyse, certain points emerge concerning the reliability of the *Life* as history.

The first problem that such a study confronts is the question of Cavendish's memory, the state of affairs in that 'gross old head' when, nearly thirty years after the major events which the *Life* describes, he began to set down the results of his meditations. Time, which may mellow literary perceptions and give them strength, is singularly unkind to the historian. It destroys records and blurs the factual surface of events. Although Cavendish can at times assert that he is certain about the truth of his account, there are several places in the *Life* where he expresses doubt about his ability to recall the exact circumstances of the events he describes. The gifts to that French embassy in 1527, for instance, 'w^{ch}e I cannot nowe call to my remembraunce' (75/19); or the details of Wolsey's dinner, when the cardinal's cross fell on Doctor Bonner, which 'I wyll (god wyllyng) declare . . . accordyng to my symple remembraunce' (149/34–150/1). And what of those other passages where Cavendish is relating not his own observations but those things which the cardinal, himself recollecting events that happened twenty years before,

¹ Historians have, in general, been much more ready to take cognizance of Cavendish's artistic ability than have the literary critics upon whose shoulders that task would seem most naturally to devolve. Mattingly's remark (*Catherine of Aragon*, Boston, 1941, p. 459) is typical: 'Direct quotations [in his account of the divorce trial] are from Cavendish, not because I am sure he got the speeches verbatim, but because the temptation to steal Cavendish's language when one can is irresistible.'

² Note, for example, how his fifth chapter (pp. 165 ff.) is organized around Cavendish's dramatic scene between Wolsey and the Duke of Norfolk (below, pp. 114 ff.).

told him when they conversed in the garden at Richmond? In the light of these statements it would not seem at all remarkable if Cavendish should have turned to the pages of Hall in an effort to restore a certain freshness to the events which he had once lived through.

There are a number of factual errors in the *Life*. Some of these, perhaps the majority of them, can be safely attributed to Cavendish's occasionally faulty memory. In order to get a proper perspective on the *Life*, however, it is necessary to consider the several classes into which these 'errors' fall. At least three separate types can be distinguished:

I. *Errors of fact*

These include the misnaming of personages, as Richard Wiltshire for John Wiltshire (45/16), and mistakes in geographical distances, as in the statement that Cawood is seven miles from York (144/10-11). Most of Cavendish's minor errors, in so far as they can be demonstrated, are of this sort. They are usually fairly easy to correct and probably were committed through simple carelessness.

II. *Errors in the sequence of events*

Van Ortroy, in analysing the uses which the author of the anonymous *Life of Fisher* made of Cavendish, remarks shrewdly that

Les documents contemporains, mis au jour dans ces derniers temps, ont considérablement réhabilité l'autorité de Cavendish pour l'exactitude des faits, mais non pour l'ordre chronologique dans lequel ils se sont passés. Je suis donc porté à admettre son témoignage, quand il n'est pas contredit par ailleurs ou par des invraisemblances manifestes.¹

This class of mistake is by far the most frequent in the *Life*. Thus Cavendish places the appeal to the universities for opinions on the divorce before and not after the trial itself; he represents the cardinal as calling the bishops together after and not before the trip to France in 1527; and he gives a thoroughly confused account of Wolsey's indictment for praemunire after

¹ Van Ortroy, op. cit., x, 354, note 2.

his fall.¹ This sort of error can sometimes be assigned to a failure of memory, but, as I shall presently suggest, there is good reason to believe that Cavendish at times deliberately disregards the exigencies of chronology in the interests of the total artistic structure of his biography.

III. *Omissions*

It is evident to anyone who is familiar with the events of Wolsey's life that many things about which Cavendish, unless he was blinder than he elsewhere shows himself to be, must have known, are omitted from his narrative. He tells us almost nothing of Wolsey's personal life; there is no mention, for example, of Wolsey's mistress or of his illegitimate son, Thomas Winter. Furthermore, when Cavendish repeats criticisms that he had heard made against the cardinal, he does so to deny them, never to offer confirmatory evidence. He himself criticizes, it is true, but he does not accept the criticisms of others. Sometimes we are able to show that he deliberately suppressed material that was known to him. The most striking instance of this is a passage from his poems relating to Wolsey's activities after his fall:

To forrayn potentates [I] wrott my letters playn,
Desireng their ayd, to restore me to favor againe.
(Singer, II, 15)

But we learn nothing at all of these intrigues from the *Life* itself.

Historians may well deplore the limitation which such 'faults' as these place upon the value of the *Life of Wolsey* as a factual record of the cardinal's rise and fall. On the other hand, the literary critic may surmise that Cavendish's mistakes are not always to be explained as simple lapses of a hazy memory. Wolsey as he was in himself appears only partially in Cavendish's *Life*, but the artistic idea which his gentleman-usher formed of him is given to us in the full. Yet, when due allowance has been made for Cavendish's slips of memory and the exigencies of his

¹ His recollection, says Pollard (p. 262), 'when he wrote in 1557, of what had happened in 1529 was so confused that he gives the failure of the "bill" in the house of commons in December as the reason for Wolsey's indictment for *praemunire* in the king's bench on the preceding 4 October'.

sense of form, we can nevertheless affirm that in many passages the factual accuracy of his book is astonishing. Whether or not Cavendish kept a record of events as they occurred cannot now be determined. He was, most assuredly, no Boswell, constructing a monument to a great man from an ever-increasing accumulation of memoranda, even if he may have had no small part of Boswell's talent for organizing conversations into set dramatic pieces. But he has a Renaissance eye for details of splendid clothing and for scenes of pomp and luxury. His sense of colour is almost as good as his ear for voices and he can remember a detail like the three steps ('gresis') on Wolsey's traverse at Amiens (54/3 and n.). He may be wrong about the colour of the French king's coat but another contemporary account shows him to have been right about the material with which it was lined (52/25–6 and n.). Sometimes we are even able to confirm the very words which he puts into the mouths of those he is writing about (84/13–4, 127/5–6 and notes, Appendix C). Through all of his work runs a tireless curiosity, a quality in himself which Cavendish reveals directly when he tells us that he accepted an invitation to visit 'Chastell de Crykkey' because he 'was allwayes desirous to se and be acquaynted w^t strayngers inespecyall w^t men in honour and Auctorytie' (55/1–3). And it is the cardinal himself, the greatest, for Cavendish, of those in 'honour and Auctorytie', who lives for us in the vivid pages of the *Life of Wolsey*.

The Text

Believing that an edition of a sixteenth-century manuscript should be as faithful as possible to the original and, at the same time, intelligible to modern readers, I have adopted an apparatus which, it is hoped, will prove satisfactory on both counts.

The first page of the text is reproduced from Bodleian MS. Douce 363 to replace the missing first page of Egerton 2402. The Douce MS. (transcribed in 1578) has few abbreviations and presents no major difficulties for the editor. MS. Egerton 2402, on the other hand, is written in a frequently difficult script which is characterized by a highly irregular system of spelling,

capitalization, and punctuation. Cavendish's spelling is here reproduced exactly, including his superscript letters, some of which also function as abbreviations. Thus *w^t* (with), *w^{che}* (whiche), *yo^r* (your), *ma^{tie}* (maiestie), *instrume^t* (instrument), etc. So too with Cavendish's numbers, which are usually written in Roman numerals, e.g. *vij^{en}* (seven), *vijth* (eighth), etc. The superscript ^{ll} is an abbreviation for *libra* (pound); the symbol *xiiij^{xx}* (68/30) means 'fourteen score' (280).

In addition to these superscript letters, Cavendish uses ten true marks of abbreviation. All of these, as listed below, have been silently expanded in the present text.

1. The mark standing for *us*. E.g. *oblivyous* 5/28.
2. The mark standing for *ur*. E.g. *fauour* 4/25. When this mark follows No. 9 (below) the combination has been expanded as *sure* (cf. *displeasure* in full, 171/26). See Frontispiece, line 12 *pleasures*.
3. Superior *a*. Expanded as *a* or as *au*, depending on the spelling of the word in which it occurs. In words like *plesaunt* Cavendish uses it as simply a superior *a*; but, when *m*, *n*, or *u* precedes the *a*, the superior *a* is employed as an abbreviation for *au*. Thus Cavendish writes *chaunced*, *demaunded*, *daun-cyng*, etc., in full, spelling them almost always¹ with *au*, no doubt to avoid writing six or seven minims in succession. The only exception to this rule is the word *quarter* (52/16, etc.) where the superior *a* is equivalent to *ua*.
4. \widehat{C} Expanded as *m* or *n* (*commyttynge*, *incontynent*) except in the word *spertyuall*² (MS. *spīuall*) which is written in full as *Spertyuall* at 10/18. *Cōenly*, *cōenwell*, etc., are expanded as *comenly* and *comenwell* in view of the fact that Cavendish has *comenly* in full at least four times (11/29, 22/34, 61/35, 74/14). If the expanded forms did not occur in the text one would be inclined to print *commenly*, *commenwell*, etc., since the \widehat{C} abbreviation in these words is based on that for the Latin *commune* (*cōe*).

¹ The only two exceptions I have found are *gouernance* (35/31) and *ordynance* (172/12).

² But cf. *spirituall* (MS. *spriūall*) 17/23, perhaps a pronunciation spelling.

5. The looped abbreviation, which occurs only as a suffix, is expanded as *es*. See Frontispiece, line 1 *Intraylles*.
6. p with a curly stroke through it. Expanded as *pro*, e.g. *prospered* 4/33, etc.
7. p with a straight stroke through it. Expanded as *per* whenever this spelling is possible (*person* 5/1, etc.), or as *par* (*departyng* 5/16, etc.).
8. The mark standing for *er* (except when it occurs above p). E.g. *euer*, *Douer*, *mercy*. The mark above p has been expanded as *re* or *ri*, according to the spelling required, e.g. *preferment*; *privye* 7/11 (*pryvy* in full, 22/34).
9. Long s with a back stroke through it. Expanded as *ser* (*serued*); as *sir*, when it stands alone (cf. *Syr* in full, 26/30); when followed by No. 2 (above), as *sur* in the prefix *sur-* (17/15, etc.) and as *sure* at the end of a word (cf. No. 2, above). See Frontispiece, line 8 *serued*, line 5 *sir*, line 12 *pleasures*.
10. A horizontal stroke through an ascender is expanded as (a) *sub-* (MS. *sb* 11/20, etc.), (b) *iesu* (MS. *i&u* 10/36, etc.), (c) *synglar* (MS. *synglr* 33/25, etc.). Cavendish does not write either *syngular* or *synglar* in full and an editor's judgement must be arbitrary in this case.

As the manuscript is an autograph, the textual footnotes have been made as full as possible. They record the interlinedated and cancelled readings in the manuscript as well as the editor's emendations. The latter are relatively few in number and are usually concerned with slight revisions of Cavendish's punctuation. An indecipherable, cancelled letter within a word in the manuscript is represented in the present edition by a point (.); single indecipherable letters are described as such in the notes. Expanded abbreviations are italicized in the footnotes when the reading is relevant to an emendation: thus, 4/25, honours] MS. honourrs.

Cavendish capitalizes words without any apparent system and I have tried to follow the vagaries of his script exactly. This causes no difficulty where the lower and upper case forms are markedly different, but when small and capital letters can be distinguished only by their size, the editor's choice must be

somewhat arbitrary. I have not noted any significant distinctions of form or size in Cavendish's *h*, *k*, or *l* and these are all reproduced in lower case. The letters *a*, *v*, *w*, and *y* can occasionally be distinguished by their size and *a* by its shape as well. All other letters have separate upper and lower case forms. The heavily shaded letters with which Cavendish begins paragraphs or speeches are here reproduced in bold face type. The folio numbers of the manuscript are placed within square brackets in the text.

Cavendish's punctuation is equally irregular and has occasioned a number of editorial emendations. He uses a virgule (/) to mark most pauses and sometimes doubles or triples the bar for a more emphatic stop.¹ Where a pause seems absolutely necessary to the sense and no punctuation is given in the manuscript, I have supplied the virgule. The only other mark of punctuation which Cavendish uses is an occasional comma and this normally occurs in items in a sequence, as *wyne, Suger, waxe*, etc., 66/5. The parentheses in the text are Cavendish's own; he employs them for asides and to indicate a foreign phrase or a word used in an unusual sense (e.g. (*boye*), 5/1). Occasionally there are parentheses within parentheses (e.g. 130/7-8).

The word division of the manuscript has been retained in the text: thus *a mong* (among) 17/4, and *a ray* (array) 52/17-18.²

¹ Note how the characterization of Anne Boleyn as *the nyght Crowe* (137/19) is followed by four virgules.

² For a Full discussion of Cavendish's literary achievement (cf. above, p. xxxv ff.) see my article, 'Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*: The Artistry of a Tudor Biographer,' which is to appear in a forthcoming (1959) issue of *Studies in Philology*.

Thomas Wolsey late Cardinall,
his lyffe and deathe,
Written by
George Cauendishe,
his gentleman Vsshare.

To write the life and doynges of this Cardinal,
it were a great worke.

(Hall, *Chronicle*)

THE PROLOGUE

Me Semes it Were no Wisdom to creadit every light tale,
blazed by the blasphemous mowthes of rude commonalty, for
we dayly here how with there blasphemous trompe they spred
abrode innvmerable lyes, without ether shame or honestye
(which *prima facie*) sheweth forth a vysage of trwthe, as 5
thowghe it weare a perfet veritie, & matter in deede. where in
there is notheng more vntrwe, And amonge the wyse sorte so it
is esteemed, with whome these bablings be of small force &
effect/ fforsythe I have redd thexclamations of divers worthy
& notable authors made agaynst such false Rumors & fonde 10
opinions of the fantasticall comonaltye, who delytith notheng
more then to here strainge thinges, And to see new alterations
of authorites, reioyseng somtyme in such new fantises w^{ch}
afterwarde geveth them more occasion of repentans then of
Ioyfulnes. Thus maye all men of wisdom & discretion vnder- 15
stande the temerous madnes of the rvde commonaltye & not
geveng to them to hastie credite of every sodayne rumor, vntill
the trwthe bee perfety knowene by the reporte of some
approved & credible person, y^t owght to have there of trwe
intelligence/ 20

I have harde & also sene sett forthe in divers printed booke
some vntrue imaginacions after the death of divers parsons, w^{ch}
in there lyffe, were of great estimation, that weare inventyed
rather to bringe there honest names into infamie & perpetuall
slander of the common mvltitude then otherwyse/ 25
The occasyon thereof y^t maketh me to reherse all these thinges,
is this, That for az miche az I intende God willing, to wryt
heare some parte of the proceedings of the said [Egerton 2402,
f. 4] Legat & Cardynall Wolsey Archebysshope of yorke/ and
of hys assendyng & dissendyng/ to & frome honorous estate/ 30
wheroft some parte shalbe of myn owen knowlege And some of
other persons Informacion/ fforsythe this Cardynall was my

lord & m^r whome in his lyve I seruyd/ and so remayned w^t
 hyme/ after hys fall contynually duryng the terme of all his
 troble vntill he died/ as well in the Sowthe as in the Northe
 parties/ And noted all hys demeanor & vsage in all that tyme/
 5 As also in his welthy tryhumphe & gloryous estate/ And synce
 his deathe/ I haue hard dyuers sondry surmysis & Imagyned tales
 made of his procedynges & doynges w^che I my selfe haue
 perfightly knownen/ to be most vntrewe vnto the w^che I cowld
 haue sufficently answered accordyng to the trouthe/ but as me
 10 semyth than/ it was myche better for me to suffer and dissimull
 the matter and the same to remayn stylly as lyes/ than to replie
 ayenst ther vntrouthe of whome I myght for my boldnes soner
 haue kyndeled a great flame of displeasures than to quenche
 oon sparke of ther malycious ontrowthe/ Therfore I commyt the
 15 treuthe to hym that knowyth all trouthe/ ffor what so euer/
 any man hath conceyved in hym whan he lyued or synce his
 dethe/ thus myche I dare be bold to say w^tout displeasure to
 any person or of affeccion/ that in my Iugement I neuer sawe thys
 realme/ in better order quyotnes & obeydencye/ than it was in
 20 the tyme of his auctoryte & Rule/ ne Iustice better mynestred
 w^t indifference/ As I could euydently prove/ If I shold not be
 accused of to myche affeccion or elles that I setforthe more than
 trouthe/ I wyll therfore here desist to speke any more in his
 commendacion/ And proced fyrist to his orygynall begynnyng
 25 assendyng by fortunes fauour to highe honours/ dignyties/
 promocions/ and riches//

ffinis. q^d. G. C.

[f. 5] **Trewthe it ys/** Cardynall wolsey somtyme Archebisshope/
 of york/ was an honest poore mans Sonne borne in Ipsewiche
 30 w^t in the Countie of Suffolk/ And beyng but a child was very
 Apte to learnyng/ by means wherof his parentes or his good
 ffrendes and maysters conveyed hym to the vnyuersitie of
 Oxford/ where he prospered so in learnyng that (As he told me

1 lord *canc. before lord; lord interl.; r of m^r no longer visible*
 canc. before selfe 8 could *canc. before could*
 after my 25 v *canc. before to; honourrs* MS. honourrs
canc. before or; or interl.

7 self

12 past *canc.*

31 of

his owen person) he was called the (boye) bacheler for as myche
as he was made bacheler of art at xv^{en} yeres of age/ w^che was a
rare thyng And seldome seen/

Thus prosperyng And encreasyng in learnyng, was made fellowe
of Magdaleyn Collage/ And after appoyned (for his learnyng) 5
to be Schole M^r there// At w^che tyme the lord Marques Dorsett
had ij^{re} of his sonnes At scole there w^t hym/ Commytting
As well vnto hym there vertuous Educacion as ther Instruccion
and learnyng/ Yt pleased the seyd Marques Ayenst A Cristmas
season to send as well for the Scole m^r As for his childeyne home 10
to hys howsse for ther recreacion in that pleasaunt & honorable
feast/ They beyng then there/ My lord ther ffather perceyved
them to be right well employed in learnyng for ther tyme w^che
contentyd hym so well/ that he haueng a benefice in his gyft
beyng at that tyme voyde/ gave the same to the Scole M^r in 15
reward for hys diligence/ At his departyng after Cristmas vppon
his retourne to the vnyuersitie/ And havyng the presentacion
therof repayred to the Ordynarie for his Institucion And
Induccion/ than beyng fully ffurnysshed of all necessarie
Instrume^{tes} at the Ordinaris handes for his preferment/ made 20
spede w^tout any fferther delay to the [f. 5v] seyd benefice to take
therof possession/ And beyng there for that entent Oon sir Amys
Pawlett knyght dwelling in that Contrie there Abought toke an
occasion of displeasure Ayenst hym/ Vppon what ground I
knowe not/ But sir by yo^r leave he was so bold to sett the Scole 25
M^r by the feete duryng hys pleasure/ The w^che was afterward
nother forgotten ne for gevyn ffor whan the Scole M^r mountyd
the dignytie to be Chauncelour of Englond he was not oblyvous
of the old displeasure mynystred vnto hym by M^r Pawlett/ but
sent for hym And after many sharpe & heynous wordes enioyned 30
hyme to attend vppon the Councell vntill he ware by them
dismyssed/ And not to departe w^tout licence vppon an vrgent
payn & forfiture/ So that he contynued w^tin the Middell temple
the space of .v. or vj yeres or more/ whos logyng there was in
the Gathowsse next the strett/ the w^che he reedefied very 35
sumptuously garnysshing the same on the owtsyde therof w^t

8 virtuous interl. 12 thus canc. before there 18 ord canc. before
Institucion; Institucion] MS. Institutucion 26 w^che interl. 28 to be
interl.; Chauncelour] MS. of Chauncelour

Cardynalles hattes And Armez bagges And Cognysaunces of the
 Cardynalles w^t dyuers other devisis in so gloryous a sort that he
 thought therby to appese his old onkynd displeasure/
Nowe may thys be a good example And precedent to men in
 5 Auctoritie/ (w^{ch}e woll sometyme worke ther wyll w^tout wytt)
 to remember in ther Auctoritie/ howe Auctoritye may dekaye/
 And whome they punysshe of wyll more than of Iustice may
 after be Advaunced in the publyke wele to highe dignytes And
 gouernaunce/ And they based as lowe/ who wyll than seke the
 10 means to be revenged of old wronges susteyned wrongfully
 byfore/ who wold haue thought than that whan sir Amys
 Pawlett punysshed this poor Scoler that euer he shold haue
 attayned to be Chauncelour of Englond consideryng his base-
 nes in euery condicion/ Thes be wonderfull workes of god And
 15 ffortune/ Therfore I wold wysshe All men in Auctorytie &
 dignytie to knowe and feare god in all ther tryhumpes & glory
 consideryng [f. 6] in all ther doynges that Auctorytes be not
 permanent but may slide And vanyssh as prynces pleasures do
 Alter & chaynege/
 20 **Than as all** lyvyng thynges must of very necessitie pay the
 dewe dett of natur w^{ch}e no earthly creature can resist Yt
 chaunced the lord Marques to depart owt of this present lyfe/
 After whos deathe/ The Scole M^r consideryng than w^t hym self
 to be but a small beneficed man/ And to haue lost his ffellowe-
 25 shype in the College (ffor as I vnderstand if a fellowe of that
 College be oons promoted to a benyfice he shall by the Rewles
 of the howsse be dismyssed of his ffellowshippe)/ And persevvyng
 hym self to be also destitute of his syngular good lord/ thought
 not to be long onprovided of some other Socours or stafe to
 30 defend hym frome all suche Stormes as he lately susteyned/
 And in hys travell there Abought/ he fill in acquayntaunce w^t
 oon sir John Nanfant A very grave & auncyaunt knyght who
 had a great rome in Calice vnder kyng herre the vijth/ This
 knyght he serued & behaued hym so discretly and Iustly that he
 35 opteyned thespecyall fauour of his seyd M^r/ in so myche that
 for his wytt, gravite & Iust behauour/ he commytted all the

1 armez. canc. before Armez; and canc. after Armez
 before than

15 did canc. after &

7 of wyll canc.
 31 in] written over as

charge of his office vnto his Chapleyn/ And as I vnderstand the Office was the Treasurerhope of Calice/ who was in Consideracion of his great age discharged of his chargeable Rome/ And retorneled agayn in to England entendyng to lyve at more quyett/ And thorouge his Instant labor And especyall fauor his 5 chapleyn was promoted to the kynges seruyce and made his Chapleyn/ And whan he had oons cast anker in the port of promocion [f. 6^v] howe he wrought I shall somewhat declare/ he hauyng than a Iust occasion to be in present sight of the kyng daylye by reason he attendyd and seyd Masse byfore his grace 10 in his privye closett/ And that done he spent not the day forthe in vayn Idelnes but gave his attendaunce vppon thos whome he thought to bere most rewle in the Councell and to be most in fauour w^t the kyng/ the w^{ch}e at that tyme ware Doctor ffoxe bysshope of wynchester than Secretory and lord privye Seale/ 15 And also sir Thomas lovell knyght a very sage Councillour & witty beyng Mr^r of the kynges wardes and Constable of the Tower/ Thes auncyent and grave Councillours in processe of tyme after often resort perceyved this Chapleyne to haue a very ffyne wytt/ And what wysdome was pact in his hede thought a 20 mete & an apte person to be preferred to wytty affayers/ Yt chaunced at a certyn season that the kyng had an vrgent Occasion to send an ambassette vnto the Emprour Maxymilian/ who lay at that present in the lowe Contrie of fflaunders not ferre from Calice/ The bysshope of wynchester and sir Thomas 25 lovell/ whome the kyng most highly estemed as cheaffe among his Councillours/ the kyng consultyng and debatyng w^t them vppon this ambassett/ Sawe that they hade a convenient occasion to preferre the kynges Chapleyne/ Whos excellent wytt Eloquence and learnyng they highly commendyd to the kyng/ The kyng 30 gevynge eare vnto theme/ And beyng a prynce of an excellent Iugement And Modestie/ commaundyd to bryng his Chapleyne (whome they so myche commendyd) byfore his grace presence to prove the wytt of his chapleyne/ At whos repayer the kyng fill in Commynycacion w^t hym in matters of waytie gravitie/ And 35 perceyvyng his wytt to be very fynne/ thought hym sufficient

11 he canc. before he

15 chefe interl. and canc. before Secretory

21 affayers/ Yt] MS. affayers Yt

31 prince canc. before prynce

34 his canc. after prove

to be put in auctorytie & trust w^t this ambassett commaundyd
 hyme there vpon to prepare hym self to this enterpriced
 Iourney/ And for his depeche to repayer to his grace and his
 trusty Councillours aforseyd/ [f. 7] Of whome he shold receyve
 5 his commyssion and Instruccions by means wherof he had than
 a dewe occasion to repayer frome tyme to tyme in to the kynges
 presence/ Who perceyved hym more & more to be a very wyse
 man and of good entendemēt/

And havyng his depeche toke his leave of the kyng at Riche-
 10 mond abought none and so came to london w^t spedē where than
 the Barge of Graveshend was redy to launche forthe bothe w^t a
 prosperous tyde and wynd/ w^tout any further abode he entred
 the barge and so passed forthe/ his happye spedē was suche that
 he arryved at Gravesend w^tin littill more than ij^{re} howers/
 15 where he taried no lenger than his post horssis ware providyd
 And travellyng so spedely w^t post horssys that he came to Dover
 the next mornyng erely where as the passengers ware redy vnder
 sayle displayed to sayle to Calice/ In to w^{chē} passenger w^tout any
 ferther aboode he entred and sayled forthe w^t them that he
 20 arryved at Calice w^tin ij^{re} howers & havyng there post horsis in
 a redynes departyd Incontynent makyng suche hasty spedē that
 he was that nyght w^t the Emprour/ who hauyng vnderstandingy
 of the Commyng of the kynges of Englondes Ambassitor wold
 in no wyse deferre the tyme but sent incontynent for hym (his
 25 affeccion vnto kyng herry the vijth was suche that he reioysed
 whan he had an occasion to showe hym pleasure) The
 ambassitor hauyng opportunyte disclosed the Somme of his
 ambassett vnto the Emprour/ of whome he desired speedy
 expedycion/ the w^{chē} was grauntyd So that the next day he was
 30 clearely dispeched w^t all the kynges requestes fully accom-
 plished/ at w^{chē} tyme he made no further taryaunce but w^t post
 horsis rood incontynent that nyght toward Calice agayn/
 conducted thereth w^t suche nomber of horsmen as themprour
 had appoynted and at the opynnyng of the Gattes there [f. 7v]
 35 where the passengers ware as redy to retourne into Englond as
 they ware byfore in his avauncyng in so myche that he arryved

9 to canc. before toke; toke interl.

15 horsyse canc. before horssis

30 dis canc. before accomplessched 32-33 agayn/ conducted] MS. agayn/

(conducted 36 avauncyng] MS. avaauuncyng; he interl.

at Dover by fore x^{en} of cloke byfore none/ And hauyng post
horsis in a redynes came to the Court at Richemond that nyght
where he takyng his rest for that tyme vntill the mornynge/ at
w^{ch}e tyme after he was redy repayred to the kyng at his first
commynge owt of his graces bedchamber toward his closett to here 5
masse/ Whome whan he sawe chekked hym for that he was not
past on hys Iourney/ Sir q^d he if it may stand w^t yo^r highnes
pleasure I haue all redy byn w^t themprour And dispeched yo^r
affayers (I trust) to yo^r graces contentacione/ And w^t that
delyuerd vnto the kyng themprours letters of credence/ The 10
kyng beyng in a great confuse & wonder of his hasty spedē/ w^t
redy furnyturē of all hys procedynges/ Dissymbled all his
Imagynacion & wonder in that matter And demaundyd of hym
whether he encountered w^t his purseuaunt the w^{ch}e he sent vnto
hyme (supposyng hymē not to be skantly owt of london) w^t 15
letters concernyng a very necessary cause neclected in his
commyssion & Instruccions/ the w^{ch}e the kyng Coueted myche to be
sped/ yes forsothe sir/ q^d he/ I encounterd hymē yester day by
the way/ And hauyng vnderstandyng by yo^r graces letters of
yo^r pleasure therin/ haue nowt^w standyng byn so bold vpon myn 20
owen disreccion (perceyveyng that matter to be very necessaryc
in that behalfe) to dispeche the same/ And for as myche as I haue
excedyd yo^r graces commyssion I most humbly requyer yo^r
gracious remyssion & pardon/ The kyng Reioysyng inwardly
not a littill sayd agayn/ we do not oonly pardon you therof but 25
also geve you our pryncely thankes bothe for the procedyng
therin and also for yo^r good speedy exployt/ commaundyng hymē
for that tyme to take hys rest and to repayer agayn after dynēr for
the ferther relacion of his ambassett/

[f. 8] The kyng than went to masse/ And after at convenient tyme 30
he went to dynner/ it is not to be doughted but that this
ambassitor hathe byn syncē hys retourne w^t his great ffrendes
the bysshope of wynchester And sir Thomas lovell to whome he
hathe declared theeffect of all his speedy progresse/ Nor yet what
Ioy they conceyved therof/ And after his departure frome the 35
kyng in the mornynge his highnes sent for the bysshope and sir

4 he was *canc.* before he 11 his *interl.* 16 in *canc.* before in
18 sped/yes] MS. sped yes 27 speedy *canc.* before speedy 31 dynēr
interl. and *canc.* before went; to dynner *interl.*

Thomas lovell to whome he declared the wonderfull expedicion
of his ambassitor commendyng therw^t his excellent wytt/ and in
especyall the Invencion and avauncyng of the matter left owt of
hys commyssion and Instruccions/ the kynges wordes reioyed
5 thes worthy councellours not a littill/ ffor as myche as he was of
ther preferment///

Than whan/ this ambassitor remembred the kynges Com-
maundeme^t and sawe the tyme drawe fast on of his repayer
before the kyng and his councell/ prepared hym in a redynes
10 and resorted vnto the place assigned by the kyng/ to declare his
ambassett/ w^tout all dowght he reported the effect of all his
affayers and procedynges so exactly w^t suche gravitie and
eloquence/ that all the Councell that hard hym could do no
lesse but commend hym estemyng his expedicion to be
15 allmost by yond the Capacitie of man/ the kyng of his mere
mocion and gracious concideracion gave hym at that tyme for
his diligent & faythfull seruyce the Deanry of lyncolne w^che at
that tyme was oon of the worthiest Spertyuall promocions that
he gave vnder the degree/ [f. 8v] of a bysshoperyke and thus
20 frome thence forward he grewe more & more in to estimacion
And auctorytie and after promoted by the kyng to be his
almener/ **Here may** all men/ note the chaunces of ffortune/
that folowyth/ some/ whome she lystithe to promote/ And evyn
so to Somme hyr faouur is contrary thoughe they shold travell
25 neuer so myche w^t vrgent diligence/ & paynfull studye that they
could device or Imagyn/ wheroft for my part I haue tasted of
thexperience **Nowe ye** shall vnderstand that all this tale that I
haue declared of his good expedicion in the kynges Ambassett/
I receyved it of his owen mowthe and report/ after his ffall lyeng
30 at that tyme in the great parke of Richemond I beyng than there
attending vpon hym takyng an occasion vpon dyuers
commynycacions to tell me this Journey w^t all the Circum-
staunce as I haue here byfore rehersed///

Whan deathe that favoryth non Estate kyng or Cayser, had
35 taken that prudent prynce kyng herre the vijth owt of this
present lyfe (on whos sowle Iesu haue mercy) who for his

3 of canc. before and

16 that canc. before that
paynfull; that interl.

5 he interl. and canc. after myche; he interl.

18 was interl.

25 est canc. after

36 sowle interl.

inestymable wysdome was noted and called in euery Cristian Region the Second Salomon what practysis, Invencions, and compasis ware than vsed abought that yong Prynce kyng herre the viijth his oonly Sonne/ And the great provicion made for the ffuneralles of theon/ And the costly devisis for the Coronacions 5 of thother w^t that vertuous Quene katheren than the kynges wyfe newly maried/ I Omyt and leave the circumstaunce therof to historygraffers of Cronycles of prynces/ the w^{ch}e is no part myn entendement// After all thes Solempnytes and Costly tryhumpes fynesshed/ And that our naturall yong, lusty, And 10 Coragious prynce/ And [f. 9] souerayn lord kyng herre the viijth entreng in to the flower of pleasaunt youthe had taken vpon hym the Regall Septour and themperyall Dyademme of this fertill and plentiful Realme of Englund/ w^{ch}e at that tyme florysshed in all aboundaunce of welthe & Riches/ wheroft he 15 was inestymably garnysshid & furnyshed/ called than the golden world/ suche grace of plenty Raygned than w^t in this Realme

Nowe lett vs retorne agayn vnto the Almosyners (of whome I haue taken vpon me to wright) whos hed was full of subtyll 20 wytt and pollecy/ perccyveng a playn pathe to walke in towards promocion handelled hym self so politykly that he found the means to be oon of the kynges Councell and to growe in good estymacion & favour w^t the kyng to whome the kyng gave an howsse at Bridwell in fflet strett sometyme sir Richard Emsons 25 where he kepte howsse for his ffamely/ And he dayly attendyd vpon the kyng in the Court beyng in his especyall grace & fauour/ who had than great sewte made vnto hym as Coun- 30 cellours most comenly haue that be in fauour/ his Sentences and wytty perswasions in the Councell chamber was allwayes so pithye that they allwayes as occasion moved them/ assigned hym for his filed tong and ornat eloquence to be ther expositer vnto the kynges ma^{tie} in all ther procedynges/ In whome the kyng conceyved suche a loyng fantzy/ especyally for that he was most earnest and Redyest among all the Councell to avaunce 35

15 & interl.; t canc. before he
the canc. before the

21 in interl.

24 gave interl. 27 grace
& interl. 31 t canc. before hym; hym] y written over e 32 tong
canc. before tong 33 procedynges/ In] M.S. procedynges In

16 had canc. before was;

24 gave interl.

27 grace

32 tong

In

the kynges oonly wyll & pleasure w^tout any respect to the Case/
 The kyng therfore perceyved hym to be a mete Instrumēt for
 the accomplysshement of his devysed wyll & pleasure called
 hym more nere vnto hym and estemed hym so highly that
 5 his estymacion and fauour put all other auncyent councellours
 owt of ther accustumed fauour that they ware in byfore/ In so
 myche as the kyng commytted all his [f. 9v] wyll & pleasure vnto
 his disposicion and order/ who wrought so all his matters that
 all his endevour was oonly to satisfie the kynges mynd/ knowyng
 10 rightwell that it was the very vayn and right Cours to bryng
 hym to highe promocion/ The kyng was yong and lusty,
 disposed all to myrthe & pleasure and to followe his desier &
 appetyte no thyng myndyng to travell in the busy affayers of
 this Realme/ the w^{ch}e the Almosynē perseyved very well/ toke
 15 vpon hym therfore to disborden the kyng of so waytie a
 charge & troublesome busynes putting the kyng in Comfort that
 he shall not nede to spare any tyme of his pleasure for any busynes
 that shold necessary happen in the Councell as long as he beyng
 there hauyng the kynges auctorytie & commaundement doughted
 20 not to se all thynges sufficiently furnysshēd & perfected the
 w^{ch}e wold first make the kyng privye of all suche matters (as
 shold passe thoroughe ther handes) byfore he wold procede to
 the fynysshēng or determynyng of the same/ whos mynd &
 pleasure/ he wold fullfyll & folowe to the vttermost wherw^t the
 25 kyng was wonderly pleased/ And where as thother Auncyent
 Councellours wold (accordyng to the office of good Councillers)
 dyuers tymes perswade the kyng to haue sometyme an enter-
 cours in to the Councell/ there to here what was don in waytye
 matters the w^{ch}e pleased the kyng no thyng at all for he loved no
 30 thyng worse than to be constrainyd to do any thyng contrary
 to his Royall wyll & pleasure/ And that knewe the Almosynē
 very well hauyng a secret Intellygence of the kynges naturall
 Inclynacion/ And so fast as thother Councillors advised the
 kyng to leave hys pleasure/ and to attend to the affayers of his
 35 Realme/ So busylie did the Almosynē perswade hym to the
 Contrary w^{ch}e delyghted hym myche and caused hym to haue

3 his and & interl.

4 more interl.

16 kyng interl.

21 & canc.

after kyng

24 he wold canc.

before fullfyll

26 wold] MS.

(wold

30 than interl.

34 take canc. before leave; the canc. before hys

the greater affeccion and love to the Almosyner/ Thus the Almosyner rewled all them that byfore rewled hym/ suche did his pollecy and wytt bryng to passe/ **Who was nowe** [f. 10] in highe favoure but m^r Almosyner/ who had all the Sewte but m^r Almosyner And who ruled all vnder the kyng but m^r Almosyner/ 5 Thus he perceuered still in fauour/ at last in came presentes, gyftes, and rewardes so plentifully that (I dare sey) he lakked no thyng that myght other please his fantzy or enriche his Coffers/ ffortune smyld so vppon hym/ but to what end she brought hym/ ye shall here after/ Therfore lett all men to whome 10 ffortune extundythe hir grace not to trust to myche to hir fikkyll fauor and plesaunt promysis vnder Colour wherof she Cariethe venemous galle/ ffor whan she seyth hir seruaunt in most highest Auctorytie And that he assuryth hym self most assuredly in hir fauour/ than tournythe she hir visage And 15 plesaunt countenaunce vnto a frownyng chere And vtterly forsakyth hym/ suche assuraunce is in hir inconstaunt fauour and Sewgerd promyse/ whos disseytfull behauour hathe not byn hyd among the wyse sort of famous Clarkes that hathe exclamed hir And written vehemently ayenst hir dissymulacion and 20 fayned fauour warnyng all men therby the lesse to regard hir/ And to haue hir in small estymacion of any trust or ffaythfulnes/ **Thys/ Almosyner**/ clymmyngh thus hastely vppe fortunes whele that no man was of that estymacion w^t the kyng as he was for his Wysdome And other witty qualites/ he hade a specyall gyft of 25 naturall eloquence w^t a fyled tong to pronounce the same that he was able w^t the same to perswade/ And allure all men to his purpose/ **Procedyng** thus in ffortunes blysfulnes/ Yt chaunced that the warres bytwen the Realmes of Englond & ffraunce to be opyn but vppon what occasion I knowe not/ In so myche as the 30 kyng beyng fully perswaded and resolued in his most Royall person to envade his forrayn ennemyes [f. 10v] w^t a peasaunt Army to delay ther hault bragges w^t in ther owen terretory Wherfore it was thought very necessary that this Royall enter-prise shold be spedely provyded and plentifully ffurnysshed in 35

4 Als *canc. before* Almosyner11 grace *canc. before* grace26 the *canc. before* he6 perceuered *canc. before* perceuered14 f *canc. before* Auctorytie28 in *interl.*16 counte-naunce *canc. before* countenaunce17 in constancie in hir *canc. before* in30 what *interl.*

euyer degree of thynges apte and convenient for the same/
 Thexpedycion wheroft the kynges highnes thought no oon mans
 wytt so mete for pollecy and paynfull travayll as his welbeloved
 Almosyner was/ To whome therfore he commytted his hole
 5 affiaunce and trust ther in/ And he beyng no thyng Scripulous
 in any thyng that the kyng would commaund hym to do/ and
 althoughe it semyd to other very deficyll/ yet toke he vppon
 hym the hole charge & bourden of all this busynes/ And
 procedyd so ther in that he brought all thynges to a good passe
 10 & purpose in a right decent order as of all maner of victualles,
 provisions, and other necessaryes convenient for so nobyll a
 voyage & pieusaunt Armye/

All thynges beyng by hym perfected and furnesshed/ The kyng
 not myndyng to delay or neclecte the tyme appoyned/ but w^t
 15 noble and valyaunt Corage avaunced to his Royall enterprice/
 passed the sees bytwen Douer and Calice/ where he prosper-
 ously arryved and after some abode there of his grace as well
 for the arryvall of his pieusaunt Army Royall, provision and
 Munycions/ as to consult abought his pryncely affayers/
 20 Marched forward in good order of battayll thorowghe the lowe
 Contrie vntill he came to the strong towen of Teurwyn/ to the
 w^{ch}e he layed his assault/ and assaylled it so ferclly w^t contynuall
 assultes that w^tin short space/ he caused them w^t in to yeld the
 towen/ Vnto w^{ch}e place the Emprour Maximylian repayred vnto
 25 the king our Souerayn lord/ w^t a pieusaunt army lyke a myghty
 & frendly prynce/ takyng of the kyng his graces wages as well
 for his owen person as for his retynewe/ The w^{ch}e ys a rare thyng
 seldom seen, hard, or red that an Emprour to [f. 11] take wages
 and to fight vnder a kynges banner/ Thus after the kyng had
 30 opteyned the possession of this pieusaunt fort and sett all
 thynges in dewe order for the defence & preseruacion of the
 same to his highnes vse/ he departed frome thence and marched
 toward the Citie of Tourney and there agayn layed his sege/ to
 the w^{ch}e he gave so ferce and sharpe assultes that they w^t in

2 oon interl. 4 Th canc. before To 15-16 enterprice/ passed] MS.
 enterprise passed 18 provision] MS. provision 19 as canc.
 before as 22 that canc. before w^t 25 whos wages canc. before w^t;
 a interl. before pieusaunt 31 of canc. after defence 34 they] y
 written over r

ware constrainyd of fynforce to yeld vppe the 'Town vnto his victoryous maestie/ At w^{ch}e tyme he gave the Almosynere the bysshopryke of the same see/ for some part of recompence of his paynnes susteyned in that Iourney/ And whan the kyng had establisshed all thynges there aggreable to his pryncely pleasure/ 5 And furnysshed the same w^t noble valyaunt Capteynnes and men of warre for the savegard of the town ayenst his ennemyes/ he retourned agayn in to Englond taking w^t hym dyuers worthy prisoners of the peers of fraunce As the Duke of longvyle/ the Countie Clermount and dyuers other taken there in asskyr- 10 mouche most victoryously/ After whos retourne Immediatly the See of lyncolne fyll voyde by the dethe of Doctour Smythe late bysshope of that dignytie/ the w^{ch}e Benefice & promocion his grace gave vnto his Almosynere/ bysshope elect of Tourney/ Who was not necligent to take possession therof And made all the 15 spedhe cowld for his consecraciōn/ the Solempnyzacion wherof endyd he found the means to gett the possession of all his pre-dicessors gooddes in to his handes wherof I haue seen dyuers tymes some part therof furnyshe his howsse/ Yt was not long after that Doctor Baynbryge/ Archebysshope of yorke dyed at Roome 20 beyng ther the kynges ambassitor vnto pope Iulius/ vnto w^{ch}e benyfice the kyng presented his newe bysshope of lyncolne So that he had ij^{re} bysshoprykes in oon yere gevyn hymē/ [f. 11v]

Than prepared he agayn of newe As fast for his translacion from the See of lyncolne vnto the see of yorke/ After w^{ch}e 25 Solempnyzacion don and he beyng in possession of the Archebisshoprike of yorke/ And/ primas Anglie/ thought hym sufficient to compare w^t Caunterburye/ And there vpon erected his crosse in the Court and in euery other place as well in the presence of the bysshope of Caunterbury and in the precyncte of 30 his Iurysdiccon as elles where/ And for as myche as Caunterbury claymyth superyortie & obeydence of yorke as he dothe of all other bysshoppes w^t in this realme/ for as myche as he is primas tocius anglie/ And therfore claymyth as a tokyn of an Auncient

2 he interl. 4 Iourney/ And] MS. Iourney And 12 dethe of
interl. 18 haue interl. 19 ther of interl. 20 to canc. before
dyed 21 the canc. before pope 26 possion canc. before possession
30 presence canc. before presence; the bysshope of interl. 31 where/
And] MS. where And

obedyence of yorke to abate the avauncyng of hys crosse in the
 presence of the Crosse of Caunterbury Notw^tstanding yorke
 no thyng myndyng to desist frome beryng of his crosse in maner
 as is seyd before/ Caused his Crosse to be auaunced and borne
 5 byfore hym/ as well in the presence of Caunterbury as elles
 where/ Wherfore Caunterbure beyng moved therw^t gave yorke
 a certyn cheke for his presumcyon/ by reason wherof there
 engendred some grudge bytwen Caunterburye & yorke/ And
 yorke perceyveng the obedyence that Caunterbury claymed to
 10 haue of yorke entendyd to provyde some suche means that he
 wold rather be superiour in dignytie to Caunterbury than to be
 other obedient or equall to hym/ Wherfore he opteyned first to
 be made preest Cardynall and legatus de latere vnto whome the
 Pope sent a Cardynalles hatt w^t certyn bulles for his auctorytie
 15 in that behalfe/ **Yet by** the way of Commynycacion/ ye shall
 vnderstand that the Pope sent this hatt as a worthy Ioyell of his
 honor, dynnitie, and auctorytie the w^che was conveyed hether in
 a verlettes bugett/ who semyd to all men to be but a person of
 small estymacion/ Wherof yorke beyng aduertised of the bassnes
 20 of the messanger and of the peoples oppynyon and rumor/
 thought it for his honour/ mete/ that so highe a Ioyell shold not
 be conveyed by so symple a messenger/ Wherfore he caused
 hym to be stayed by the way Immedyatly after his arryvall in
 Englond/ where he was newly furnysshed [f. 12] in all maner
 25 of apparell w^t all kynd of costly sylkes w^che semyd decent for
 suche an highe ambassitor/ And that don he was encountered
 vpon blakhethe And there receyved w^t a great assemble of
 prelates & lusty gallaunt gentilmen/ And frome thence con-
 ducted and conveyed thorough london w^t great tryhumphe/
 30 Than was great and speedy provision & preparacion made in
 Westminster Abbey for the confirmacion of his highe dignytie/
 the w^che was executed by all the bisshopes and Abbottes nyghe or
 abought london in riche myters And Coopes and other costly
 ornamente/ w^che was don in so solompne a wyse as I haue not
 35 seen the lyke oonless it had byn at the coronacion of a myghti
 prynce or kyng///

16 as a interl.
humphre Than

23 be interl.
29-30 tryhumphe/ Than] MS. try-
30 great canc. before great
32 the canc. after by

Oppcyanynge/ thys/ dygnyte/ thought hym self mete to encounter w^t Caunterbury in his highe Iurysdicion byfore expressed And that also he was as mete to beare auctoryte among the temporall powers as a mong the spertyuall Iurisdicions wherfore remembryng/ as well the tauntes & chekkes 5 byfore susteyned of Caunterbury (w^{cne} he entendyd to redresse) hauyng a respecte to the auauancemet^t of worldly honour, promocion, And great benefites/ ffound the means w^t the kyng that he was made Chauncelour of Englond/ And Caunterbury therof dismyssed/ who had contynued in that honorable rome 10 and office syncse long byfore the deathe of kyng herry the vijth/ Nowe he beyng in possession of the Chauncellourshipe endowed w^t the promocion of an archebysshop and Cardynall/ legatte also de latere/ thought hym self fully furnysshed w^t such auctorties And dygnyties that he was able to surmount 15 Caunterbury in all ecclesiasticall Iurysdicions havyng power to convocatt Caunterbury and other bysshopes w^t in his provynece to assemble at his convacion in any place w^t in this realme where he wold assigne/ takyng vppon hym the Coreccion of all matters in euery [f. 12v] Dyoces hauyng there thorough all 20 the realme all maner of spertyuall mynsters As commyssaryes, Scribbes, Apparitours, And all other officers to furnysshe his Courtes/ visited also all sprituall howsis/ and presentyd by prevencyon whome he listed to ther benyfices/ And to the avauncyng of hys legantyn honour & Iurisdicion he had 25 maysters of his ffaculties/ and maysters Cerimoniarum and such other lyke officers to the gloryfieng of his dygnyte/ Than hadde he ij great Crossis of Syluer where of oon of them was for his archebysshopriche/ And the other for his legacye/ borne alwayes byfore hym whether so euer he went or rode/ by ij of 30 the most tallest and comlyest prestes that he cowld gett w^t in all this realme/ And to thencreas of his gaynnes he had also the bysshopyrche of Duresme And the Abbey of seynt Albons in Commendam/ howbeit after whan bysshope ffoxe of wyncester

1 hym interl. 6 by canc. after susteyned; of interl. 17 provynece]
 ce written over s 18 in interl. and canc. after wt; h canc. before
 in this 20-21 all the interl. 23 all canc. before all; pre canc.
 before by 27 dygnyte/ Than] MS. dygnyte Than 31 tallest canc.
 before tallest; persons canc. before prestes 32 he had canc. before the

dyed he Surrendred Duresme in to the kynges handes/ and in
 lieu therof toke the bysshoprice of wynchester/ Than he had
 also as it ware in ferme/ bothe bathe, & worcester and hereford
 bycause thencombentes therof ware Strayngers borne owt of
 5 thys realme contynuyng allwayes be yond the sees in ther own
 natife Contries or elles at Rome frome whence they ware sent
 by the pope in legacion in to Englund to the kyng And for ther
 reward at ther departure the prudent kyng herre the vijth
 thought it better to reward them w^t that thyng he hym self
 10 could not kepe than to defray or disburse any thyng of his
 treasure/ And than they beyng but Strayngers thought it more
 mete for ther assuraunce And to haue ther Iurisdiccons conserued
 and Iustly vsed to permyt the Cardynall to haue ther benyfices
 15 for a convenient yerely Somme of mony to be payed them by
 eschaunce in ther Contries/ than to be trobled or burdened w^t
 the conveyaunce therof vnto them/ So that all ther spertyuall
 promocyonys and Iurydiccons of ther bysshopperiches ware
 clearely in his demayns & disposicion to preferre or promote
 whome he listed vnto them/ he hade also a great nomber dayly
 20 attendlng vppon hym bothe of noble men and worthy [f. 13]
 gentilmen of great estymacion and possessions w^t no small
 nomber of the tallest yomen that he Could gett in all this
 Realme/ In so myche that well was that noble man or
 gentilman that myght preferre any tall & comly yoman vnto his
 25 seruyce/

Nowe to speke of the order of his howsse & officers/ I thynke
 it necessarie heare to be remembred/ ffirste ye shall vnderstand
 that he had in his hall dayly ij^{re} especyall tables furnesshed w^t
 ij^{re} pryncypall officers that is to sey A Steward/ w^{ch}e was
 30 allwayes a Docter or a preste/ A Treasurer a knyght/ A Con-
 troller a esquier/ w^{ch}e bare allwayes w^tin his house ther whight
 Staves/ Than hadde he a Cofferer/ ij^{re} Marshalles/ ij yomen
 Vsshers/ ij Gromes and an Almosynere/ he hadde also in the hall
 kytchen ij Clarkes of his kytchen/ A Clarke Controller/ A
 35 surveyour of the Dressor/ A Clarke of his Spicerie/ Also there in

1 surrendred *canc. after he* 2 had *interl.* 3 & *canc. after*
 bathe, 7 b *canc. before in legacion* 10 dispurse *canc. before*
 disburse 14 them *interl.* 18 creal *canc. before clearely* 23 or]
 written over & 32 Marshalles/ ij] *MS. Marshalles ij*

his hall kytchen he hade ij M^r Cookes/ And xijth of other laborers & childern as theye called theme/ A Yoman of his Scollery/ w^t ij other in his syluer Scollery/ ij yomen of his pastery, and ij Groomes/ Nowe in his privy kytchen he had a M^r Cooke who went dayly in Dammaske, Satten or velvett w^t a chayn of 5 gold abought his nekke/ And ij Gromes w^t vj laborers & childeyne to serue in that place/ In the larder there a yoman and a Grome/ In the Skaldyng howsse a yoman & ij Gromes/ In the Scollery there ij persons/ In the Butterie ij yomen and ij Gromes w^t ij other pages/ In the pantrie ij yomen/ ij Gromes and ij pages/ 10 And in the Ewrie lykewyse/ in the seller iij yomen ij Gromes & ij pages/ besides a gentilman for the monthe/ In the Chaundrye iij persons/ In the wafery ij/ In his Garderobbe of Beddes a m^r and x^{en} other persons/ in the laundry a yoman a Grome and iij pages/ Of purvyours ij and oon Grome/ In the bakhowsse 15 [f. 13^v] a yoman & ij Gromes/ In the woodyerd a yoman & a Grome/ In the Garner j In the Garden a yoman & ij laborers/ Nowe at the Gate he had of porters ij tall yomen and ij Gromes/ a yoman of his Barge// In the Stabyll/ he hade a m^r of his horsses/ A Clarke of the Stable/ A yoman of the same/ A Sadler/ 20 A fferroure/ A yoman of his Charyot/ A Sompter man/ A yoman of his Stirrope/ A Mewlytor/ xvjen Gromes of hys stable euery of them kepyng iiij^{or} great Geldynges/ In the Almosory a yoman & a Grome//

Nowe wyll I declare to you the Officers of his Chappell and 25 Syngynge men of the same/ ffirste he hade there A Dean who was allwayes a great clarke & a devyn/ A Subdean/ A Repetor of the Quyer/ A Gospeller/ A Pystoler/ And xij Syngynge prestes/ Of seculers he had first a M^r of his childern/ xij syngynge Childeyne/ xvjen syngynge men/ a seruaunt to attend vpon the seyd 30 Childeyne/ In the revestrie a yoman & ij Gromes/ Than ware there dyuers Reteynours of connyng syngynge men that came at dyuers sondrie pryncypall feastes/ **But to speke of the ffruyture** of his Chappell/ passithe my Capasitie to declare the nomber of the costly ornamenteis And riche Ioyelles that ware occupied in 35 the same contynually/ I haue seen there in a procession worne

11 lykewyse/ in] MS. lykewyse in

15 p. canc. after the

18 of

porters interl.

23 Geldynges/ In]

MS. Geldynges In

26 men interl.

27 a interl. before devyn

31 the interl. before revestrie

xlivij^{ti} Coopes of oon sewte very riche besides the Somptious
 Crossis, Candyllstykes, and other necessary orname^{tes} to the
 comly furnature of the same/ **Nowe** shall ye vnderstand that
 he had ij Crosberers & ij Pillers berers/ And in his chamber/ All
 5 thes persons that is to sey/ his highe Chamberlayn/ his Vice-
 Chamberlayn/ xij Gentilmen vsshers dayly wayters, beside ij
 in his privye Chamber/ And of Gentillmen wayters in his
 privye chamber he had vjth/ And also he had of lordes ix^{en} or
 x^{en}/ who had eche of them allowed ij seruautes/ And the Erle
 10 of Derby had allowed ve men/ Than had he of gentilmen/ As
 Cupberers/ kervers/ Sewers/ And gentilmen dayley wayters
 xl^{ti} persons/ Of yomen vsshers he had vj/ Of Gromes in his
 chamber he had viijth/ Of yomen of his chamber he had xlvi^{ti}
 dayly to attend vppon his person/ he had also a prest there
 15 [f. 14] w^{ch}e was his Almosynier to attend vppon his tabell/ at
 dynner/ Of doctors & chappelns attending in his Closett to sey
 dayly masse byfore hym/ he had xvj^{en} persons/ A Clarke/ of his
 Closett/ Also he had ij Secretorys/ And ij Clarkes of his signett/
 And iiij^{or} Councellours learned in the lawes of this realme/ And
 20 for as myche as he was Chauncelor of England yt was necessary
 for hym to haue dyuers Officers of the Chauncery to attend
 dayly vppon hym for the better ffluryture of the same/ that is
 to say/ he had a Clarke of the Crowne/ A ridyng Clarke/ A Clarke
 of the hamper/ A Chaffer of waxe/ Than had he A Clarke of the
 25 Chekke as well to chekke his Chappleyns as hys yomen of the
 Chamber/ he had also iiij^{or} ffootmen w^{ch}e ware apparelled in
 riche Runnyng Cootes whan so euer he rode any Iourney/ Than
 had he an harrold at Armez/ Also a Seriaunt at Armez/
 A Phisicion/ A Pottecarye/ iiij^{or} Mynstrelles/ A keper of his
 30 Tentes/ An Armorer/ And Instricter of his wardes/ ij yomen in
 his Garderobbes/ And a keper of his Chamber in the Court/ he
 had also dayly in his howsse the Surveyour of yorke/ And a
 Clarke of the Grean clothe/ and an Audytor All this nomber of

6 ij canc. before xij	9 allowed] MS. allowed	11 gentilma
canc. before gentilmen	12 vj/ Of] MS. vj Of	13 in his canc.
before first chamber	16 Closed canc. before Closett	17 persons canc.
before persons	19 of canc. before learned	21 for hym interl.
22 aly canc. before dayly; dayly interl.	29 Mynstrelles] MS. Mynstelles	
30 his interl.	31 first his interl.; Garderobbes] MS. Gardebobbes	33 and
an Audytor interl.		an Audytor interl.

persons ware daylye attendaunt vpon hym in hys howsse,
 down lyeng And vppe risyng/ And at meales/ There was con-
 tynually in his chamber a bord kept for his Chamberlayns and
 gentilmen vsshers/ hauyng w^t theme a messe of the yong lordes
 And an other for gentilmen/ besides all this there was neuer an 5
 officer and gentilman or any other worthye person in his howesse
 but he was allowed some iij some ij seruauntes And all other
 (oon) at the least w^{ch}e amounted to a great nomber of persons//
Nowe haue I shewed you the order of his howsse/ And what
 officers & seruauntes he had accordyng to his Chekker Rolle 10
 attendyng dayly vppon hym besides hys reteynors and other
 persons beyng Sewters that most Comenly ware fedde in his
 hall And whan so euer we shall se any more suche Subiectes
 w^tin thys realme that shall maynteyn any suche estat & howshold
 I ame content he be auaunced above hym in honour & esty- 15
 macion therfore here I make [f. 14v] an end of his howssholt/
 wheroft the nomber ware abought the Somme of fyve hundred
 parsons accordyng to his chekker rolle//

Yow have hard of the order & Officers of his howsse/ nowe do
 I intend to proced forthe vnto other of his procedynges/ ffor 20
 after he was thus ffurnysshid in maner as I haue byfore rehersed
 vnto you he was twyse sent in Ambassett vnto themprour
 Charles the 5 that nowe reygnyth and nowe ffather vnto kyng
 Phillip our Souerayn lord/ for as myche as the old Emprour
 Maximilian was deade/ And for dyuers vrgent causys touchyng 25
 the kynges ma^tle yt was thought good that in so waytie a matter/
 And to so noble a prince that the Cardynall was most meate to
 be sent on so worthy an Ambassett/ wherfore he beyng redy to
 take vppon hym the charge therof/ was ffurnysshed in all
 degrees and purposys most lykest A great prynce w^{ch}e was 30
 myche to the highe honour of the kynges ma^tle and of this
 realme/ ffor first in his procedyng he was furnysshed lyke a
 Cardynall of highe estimacion/ havyng all thyng therto corre-
 spondent & agreeable/ his gentilmen beyng in nomber very many
 clothed in luyere Coottes of Crymmosyn velvett of the most 35

3 in his chamber *interl.*
 canc. after &
 kyng canc. after kyng

10 the *canc. before his*
 16 th *canc. before therfore*
 kyng *canc. after kyng*

14 howshold
 17 wherof *interl.*; 23 vnto
 MS. nomber of; his persons wherof *canc. before ware*
 32 realme/ ffor] MS. realme ffor

purest Colour that myght be Invented/ wt chaynnes of gold
 abought ther nekkes/ And all his yomen And other mean officers
 ware in Cottes of ffynne Skarlett garded wt blake velvett an hand
 brode/ he beyng thus furnysshid in thys maner was twyse sent
 5 vnto themprour in to fflauders Themprour lyeng than in
 Brugges who entartayned our Ambassitor very highly/ dis-
 chargyng hym and all his trayn of ther charges/ ffor ther was
 no howsse wt in all bruges wherin any gentilman of the lord
 ambassitors lay or had recourse/ but that the owners of the
 10 howses ware commaunded by themprours officers that they
 vppon payn of ther lyves shold take no mony for any thyng that
 the Cardynalles seruauntes shold take or dispend in victualles/
 ne althoughe they ware disposed to make any costly bankettes/
 fferthermore commaundyng ther seyd hostes to se that they
 15 lakked no suche thynges as they desired or requyred to haue for
 ther pleasures [f. 15] Also themperours Officers euery nyght
 went thoroughe the towen frome howsse to howsse where as any
 Englysshemen lay & resorted/ And there serued lyueres for all
 nyght w^{ch}e was don after this maner// **ffirste**/ the Emprors
 20 Officers brought in to the howsse a Cast of fynne manchett
 brede/ ij great Siluer pottes wt wynne and a pound of fynne
 Sewger/ Whight lightes And yelowe/ A bolle or goblett of Syluer
 to drynke in And euery nyght a staffe torche/ this was thorder
 of ther lyueres euery nyght/ And than in the mornynge whan the
 25 Officers came to fetche a way ther stiffe than wold they
 Accompte wt the host for the gentillmens costes spent in that
 nyght & day byfore/ Thus themprerour entartayned the
 Cardynall & all hys trayn for the tyme of his Ambassett there/
 And that don he retourned home agayn in to Englond wt great
 30 tryhumphe beyng no lesse in estymacion wt the kyng than he
 was byfore but rather myche more///
Now wyll I declare vnto you his order in goyng to westmynster
 hall dayly in the tearme season/ ffirste byfore hys commyng owt of
 hys pryy chamber he hard most comenly euery day ij massis
 35 in his privye closett/ And there than seyd his dayly seruyce wt
 his chapleyne (And as I hard his chapleyne say beyng a man of

1 be interl.

10 A single indecipherable letter canc. before by
canc. before Ambassett

36 as canc. before as

28 amb

credence/ and of excellent learnyng) that the Cardynall what busynes or waytie matters so euer he had in the day he neuer went to his bed w^t any part of his devyn seruyce onsayd/ yea not so myche as oon Collect/ wherin I dought not but he disseyved the oppynyon of dyuers persons/ And after masse he wold 5 retourne in his privye chameber agayn and beyng aduertised of the furnyture of his chambers w^tout w^t noble men and gentilmen/ w^t other persons wold issue owt in to theme apparellled all in red in the habytt of a Cardynall w^che was other of fynne skarlett or elles of crymmosyn Satten/ Taffeta Dammaske/ or 10 Caffa/ the best that he could gett for mony/ and vpon hys hed a round pyllion w^t a nekke [f. 15v] of blake velvett set to the same in the Inner side/ he had also a tippett of fynne Sables a bought his nekke/ holdyng in his hand a very fayer Orrynge wherof the mete or substaunce w^t in was taken owt and fylled vppe agayn 15 w^t the part of a Sponge wherin was vyneger and other confeccions agaynst the pestylente Ayers to the w^che he most commenly smelt vnto/ passyng among the prease or elles whan he was pesterd w^t many Sewters/ There was also borne byfore hym first the great Seale of Englond/ And than his Cardynalles 20 hatt by a noble man or some worthy Gentilman right Solemply barehedyd/ And as Sone as he was entered in to hys chamber of presence where was attendyng his Commynge to awayt vpon hym to westminster hall as welle noble men and other worthy gentilmen/ as noble men & gentilmen of his owen famely/ thus 25 passyng forthe w^t ij great Crossis of Syluer borne byfore hym w^t also ij great pillers of syluer/ And his seriaunt at Armez w^t a great mase of syluer gylt/ Than his gentilmen vsshers cried and sayd/ on my lordes & maysters/ make way for my lordes grace/ thus passed he down frome his chambers thorough the hall/ 30 And whan he came to the hall doore ther was attendaunt for hym his mewle trapped all to gether in Crymmosyn velvett and gylt Stirropes/ whan he was mounted/ w^t his crosse berers/ and Piller berers also/ vpon great horsis trapped w^t red skarlett

1 of interl. 6 bed canc. before privye; privye interl. 9 habit of
canc. after the 12 set to] MS. setto 13 of canc. before he
15 of canc. before or 17 ayer canc. after confeccions; to interl. 19 any
canc. before many 22 as he canc. before as he 24 as canc. before
and; and interl. 29 sayd/ on] MS. sayd on 33 and canc.
before w^t; w^t interl.

Than marched he forward w^t his trayn & furnyture in maner as
I haue declared/ hauyng abought hym iij^{or} footmen w^t gylt
pollaxes in ther handes/ And thus he went vntill he came to
westminster hall doore/ And there lighted and went after this
5 maner vppe thoroughe the hall in to the Chauncery/ howebeit
he wold most commynly stay a while at a barre made for hym
a littill benethe the chauncery And there Commyn some tyme
w^t the Iuges and somtyme w^t other persons/ And that don he
wold repayer in to the Chauncery/ And sittynge there vntill
10 xj^{en} of the clocke heryng Sewters and determinyng of dyuers
matters/ And frome thence he wold dyuers tymes goo in to the
sterrechamber as occasion dyd serue/ where he spared nother
highe nor lowe but Iuged euery estate accordyng to ther
merites and desertes/ he vsed euery Sonday to repayer to the
15 Court beyng than for the [f. 16] most part at Grenwyche in the
terme/ w^t all his former order takyng his barge at his pryyv
stayers furnyished w^t tall yomen standyng vpon the baylles
And all gentilmen beyng w^tin w^t hym/ And londed at the
Crane in the vyndrie And frome thence he rode vpon hys mule
20 w^t his Crossis/ his pillers/ his hatt/ And the great Seale,
thoroughe temmes strette vntill he came to Ballyngesgate or
there aboughtes And there toke his barge agayn and rowed to
Grenwyche/ where he was noblly receyved of the lordes and
cheafe officers of the kynges howsse/ As the Treasurer and
25 Controllers w^t other and conveyed vnto the kynges Chamber/
his Crosses commonly standyng (for the tyme of hys aboode in
the Court) on the oon syde of the kynges clothe of estate/ he
beyng thus in the Court/ yt was wonderly furnysshed w^t noble
men and gentilmen myche otherwyse than it was byfore hys
30 commyng/ And after Dynner among the lordes hauyng some
consultacion w^t the kyng or w^t the councell he wold departe
homeward w^t lyke sorte/ And thys order he vsed contynually as
opportunyte dyd serue//

Thus in greate honour/ tryhumphe & glorie he raygned a long
35 season Rewlyng all thyng w^t in thys Realme appurteynynge vnto

2 hym interl.

after stay; made interl.

before w^t

3 on canc. before went; went interl.

11 tymes interl.

26 of interl.

6 at canc.

18 hy canc.

30 the canc. after among; the interl.
before lordes

the kyng by his wysdome/ And also all other waytie matters of
fforrayn Regions w^t whome the kyng & this Realme had any
occasion to entermeddell/ All Ambassitors of fforrayn potentates
ware allway dispeched by hys disrecccion/ to whome they had
allwayes accessse for ther dispeche/ his howsse was also allwayes 5
resorted and furnesshed w^t noble men/ gentilmen, & other
persons w^t goyng & commyng in and owt/ ffeastyng & bankatyng
all Ambassitors dyuers tymes and other Strayngers right nobly/
And whan it pleased the kynges ma^{te} for his recreacion to
repayer vnto the Cardynalles howsse (as he dyd dyuers tymes 10
in the yere) at w^{ch}e tyme there wanted no preparacions or
goodly furnytur w^t vyaundes of the fynnest Sort that myght be
provided for mony or frendshippe/ Suche pleasures ware than
devysed for the kynges comfort & consolacion as myght be
Invented or by mans wytt Imagyned/ the bankettes ware sett 15
forthe w^t [f. 16v] Maskes and Mumerreys in so gorges a sort
and Costly maner that it was an hevyn to behold/ ther wanted
no dames or damselles meate or apte to daunce w^t the maskers
or to garnysshe the place for the tyme/ w^t other goodly dispordes/
than was there all kynd of musyke and armonye setforthe w^t 20
excellent voyces bothe of men and Childeyne/ **I haue** seen the
kyng sodenly come in thether in a maske w^t a dosyn of other
maskars all in garmentes lyke Shepherdes made of fynne
Clothe of gold and fyn Crymosyn Satten paned and Cappes
of the same w^t visors of good proporcion of visonamy, ther 25
heares & beardes other of fynne gold wyers or elles of syluer/
And Some beyng of blake sylke/ havyng xvjen torches berers
besides Dromes And other persons attendyng vpon them w^t
visors & clothed ail in Satten of the same Colours/ and at his
commynge & byfore he came in to the hall ye shall vnderstand 30
that he came by water to the water gate w^tout any noys where
ayenst his commynge was layed charged many chambers/ At whos
londyng they ware all Shot of w^{ch}e made suche a Romble in the
Ayer that it was lyke thonder it made all the noble men ladys
& gentilwomen to muse what it shold mean commynge so 35
sodenly they sytting quyotly at a solempne bankett vnder this

sort/ ffirſt ye ſhall perceyve that the tables ware ſett in the Chamber of presence/ Bankett wyſe couered/ my lord Cardynall ſyttyng vnder the clothe of eſtat/ And there hauyng all his ſeruyce all alone/ And than was there ſett a lady and an noble
 5 man or a gentilman and a gentilwoman thorougehowt all the tables in the Chamber on the oon ſyde w^the was made & Ioyned as it ware but oon table/ All w^the order & device was don and devyſed by the lord Sandes lord Chamberlayn w^t the kyng/ And also by ſir herry Gwyldford controller w^t the kyng/ Than
 10 Immedyatlly after this great ſhott of Gonnes/ the Cardynall desired the ſeyd lord Chamberleyn & Controller to loke what this ſoden ſhot ſhould mean (As thoughe he knewe no thyng of the matter) They thervppon lokyng owt of the wyndowe in to Temmes retorneſ agayn & ſhewed hym that it ſemed to them
 15 that there ſhould be ſome noble men & ſtrayngers arryved at his brygge As Ambassitores frome ſome fforrayn prynce/ W^t that q^d the Cardynall/ I ſhall desier you bycause ye can ſpeke frenche to take the paynnes to goo down in to the hall to encounter and to receyve them accordyng to [f. 17] ther estates And to con-
 20 ducte them in to thys Chamber/ where they ſhall ſe vs and all theſe noble personages ſyttyng merely at our Bankett desyryng them to ſitt down w^t vs and to take part of our fare & paſtyme/ They went incontynent down in to the hall/ where they receyved them w^t xx^tl newe torches And conveyed them vppe in to the
 25 Chamber w^t ſuche a nomber of Dromes and fyves as I haue ſeldome ſeen together at oon tyme in any Manke/ At ther arryvall in to the chamber ij & ij together they went directly byfore the Cardynall where he ſatt/ Salutyng hym very reuerently to whome the lord Chamberlayn (for them) ſayd/
 30 Syr for as myche as they be ſtrayngers And can ſpeke no Englyſſe they haue desired me to declare vnto yo^r grace thus/ They havyng vnderſtandyng of thys yo^r tryhumphant bankett where was assembled ſuche nomber of excellent fayer dames/ cowld do no leſſe vnder the ſupportacion of yo^r grace but to
 5 a interl. after or 9 also interl.; also canc. before w^t 15 they
 canc. before there; there and ſome interl. 16 ambassitours canc. after As
 17 ſpeke can frenche canc. after ye with can interl. 18 them canc. before
 and 19 to ther] MS. to / ther 20 a ſingle indecipherable letter canc.
 before in 24 theme interl. 27 to the canc. before together; they
 interl. 31 thay interl. 31-32 Th canc. before / They; /They] MS. They

repayer hether to vewe as well ther incomperable beawtie as for to accompany them at Mume chaunce And than After to daunce w^t them/ And so to haue of them acquayntaunce And sir they furthermore requyer of yo^r grace lycence to accomplesshe the cause of ther repayer/ to whome the Cardynall answered that 5 he was very well contentyd they shold so do/ Then the Maskars went first and saluted all the Dames as they sat and than retorne to the most worthyest and there opyned a Cuppe full of gold w^t Crowns & other peces of coyn to whome they sett dyuers peces to cast at/ thus in this maner pervsyng all the 10 ladys & gentilwomen/ And to some they lost And of some they won/ And this don they retourned vnto the Cardynall w^t great reuerence poryng down all the Crownes in the Cuppe w^{ch}e was abought ij^c Crownes/ at all q^d the Cardynall and so cast the dyse And wane them all at a Cast/ where at was great Ioy made/ 15 Than q^d the Cardynall to my lord Chamberlayn/ I pray you q^d he shewe them that it semys me howe there shold be among theme some noble man/ whome I suppose to be myche more worthy of honor to sitt and occupie this rome & place than I/ to whome I wold most gladly [f. 17^v] (yf I knewe hym) surrender 20 my place accordyng to my dewtie/ than spake my lord Chamberlayn vnto them in ffrenche declaryng my lorde cardynalles mynd And they Roundyng hym agayn in the eare/ my lord Chamberlayn seyd to my lord Cardynall/ Sir they confesse q^d he that among them there is suche a noble personage/ Among 25 whome if yo^r grace can appoyn特 hym frome the other he is contented to discloos hym self And to accepte yo^r place most worthely/ w^t that the Cardynall takyng a good advyseme^t among them/ at the last/ q^d he/ me Semys the gentilman w^t the blake beard shold be evyn he/ And w^t that he arrose owt of hys 30 chayer and offered the same to the gentilman in the blake beard (w^t his Cappe in his hand) The person to whome he offered than his Chayer/ was sir Edward Neveyll A comly knyght of a goodly personage that myche more resembled the kynges person in that Maske than any other/ The kyng heryng & perceyvynge 35

2 them *interl.*

12 this] MS. thus

17 that *canc.* before howe;howe *interl.*

19 and] MS. an

21 dewtie/ than] MS. dewtie

than

22 frenche *canc.* before frenche23 eare *canc.* after the28 ad *canc.* before among

the Cardynall so disseyved in his estymacion and choys cowld
 not forbeare lawyng/ but plukked down his visare & m^r Neveylles
 & dasht owt w^t suche a plesaunt Countenaunce & cheare/ that
 all noble estates there assembled seyng the kyng to be there
 5 amoong them reioysed very myche/ the Cardynall eftsones
 desired hys highnes to take the place of estate/ to whome the
 kyng answered that he wold goo first & shyfte hys apparell and
 so departed/ and went strayt to my lordes bed Chamber where
 was a great fier made & prepared for hym/ And there newe
 10 apparelled hym w^t riche & pryncely garmentes/ And in the
 tyme of the kynges absence/ the disshess of the bankett ware
 clean taken vppe and the table spred agayn w^t newe & swett
 perfumed clothes euery man sytting still vntill the kyng & his
 maskers came in among theme agayn euery man beyng newly
 15 apparelled/ Thon the kyng toke his seate vnder the clothe of
 estate comaundyng no man to remove but sit still as they dyd
 byfore/ Thon/ In came a newe bankett byfore the kynges mat^{ie}
 and to all the rest thorough the tables/ wherin I suppose was
 serued ij^{cc} disshess or above of wonderouse costly meates &
 20 devysys subtilly devysed/ thus passed [f. 18] they fforthe the
 hole nyght w^t banketyng, dauncyng & other tryhumphant
 devyses to the great comfort of the kyng and plesaunt regard of
 the nobyltie there assembled// All this matter I haue declared
 at large bycause ye shall vnderstand what Ioy & delight the
 25 Cardynall had to se his prynce and souerayn lord in his howsse
 so nobley entartayned and pleased w^{cne} was Allwayes his oonly
 study to devise thynges to his commfort not passyng of the
 charges or expences/ yt delighted hym so myche the kynges
 plesaunt pryncely presence/ that no thyng was to hym more
 30 delectable than to cheare his souerayn lord to whome he owght
 so myche obedycence and loyaltie/ as reason requyred no lesse/
 All thynges well considered/

Thus/ passed the Cardynall hys lyfe & tyme frome day to day
 And yere to yere in suche great welthe, Ioy tryhumphe/ & glory
 35 hauyng allwayes on his syde the kynges especyall fauour/ vntill
 ffortune (of whos fauour no man is lenger assured than she is

6 the place *canc.* before estate 10 w^t] MS. w^{cne}
 after his 20 substam *canc.* before subtilly; they *interl.*
 before tryhumphant 34 & *canc.* before tryhumphe

15 se *canc.*
 21 de *canc.*

dysposed) began to wexe some thyng wrothe w^t his prosperous estate// thought she wold devyse a mean to abate his hyghe port wherfor she procured Venus the Insaciat goddesse to be hir Instrument to worke hir purpose/ She brought the kyng in love w^t a gentillwoman that after she perceyved and felt the kynges good wyll towardes hir And howe diligent he was bothe to please hir And to graunt all hir requestes she wrought the Cardynall myche displeasure as hereafter shalbe more at large declared/ This gentilwoman the daughter of sir Thomas Bolayn beyng at that tyme but oonly a bacheler knyght the w^che after for the love 10 of his dowghter was promoted to higher dignytes/ he bare at dyuers seuerall tymes for the most part all the Romes of estimacion in the kynges howsse as/ controller/ Treasurer/ vice Chamberleyne/ and lord Chamberlayn/ than was he made Viscount Rocheford/ And at the last created Erle of wyltshere/ 15 & knyght of the noble order of the Garter/ And for his more encrease of gayn & honour he was made lord pryye seale and most chefest of the kynges privye Councell/ Contynuyng therin vntill his Sonne & daughter did encurre the kynges Indignacion and displeasure/ The kyng fantazed so myche his daughter Anne 20 that allmost euery thyng began to growe owt of fframe & good order/ [f. 18v]

To tell you/ howe the kynges love began to take place/ And what folowed therof/ I will do evyn as myche as in me lyeth declare you/ This gentillwoman M^rs Anne Boleyn beyng very 25 yong was sent in to the realme of ffraunce/ And there made oon of the ffrenche Quens women contynuyng there vntill the ffrenche Quene dyed/ And than was she sent for home agayn/ And beyng agayn w^t hir ffather he made suche means that she was admytted to be oon of Quene katheryns maydes/ Among 30 whome for hir excellent gesture & behauour dyd excell all other in so myche/ As the kyng began to kyndell the brond of Amours/ w^che was not knownen to any person ne skantly to hir owen person/ In so myche my lord Percy the Sonne & heyer of the Erle of Northumberland who than attendyd vpon the lord 35

5 a interl. 12 for interl. 15 at interl. 18 seale/canc. after
privye; Contynuyng] MS. Contynynge 20 and interl.; displeasure/The]
MS. displeasure The 27 women] MS. woman 28 was canc.
before was 32 Amours] MS. Amours

Cardynall/ And was also hys seruyture/ And whan it chaunced
 the lord Cardynall at any tyme to repayer to the Courte/ The
 lord Percye wold than resort for his pastyme vnto the Quens
 chamber/ And there wold fall in dalyaunce among the quens
 5 maydens beyng at the last more conuersaunt w^t M^rs Anne
 Bolleyn than w^t any other so that there grewe suche a secrett
 love bytwen them/ that at lengthe they ware ensured together
 entendyng to marye/ the w^{cne} thyng came to the kynges know-
 lege/ who was than myche offendyd/ wherfore he cowld hyde no
 10 lenger his secrett affeccion but revealed his secrett entendement
 vnto my lord Cardynall in that behalfe/ And consultyd w^t hym to
 enfrynge the precontracte bytwen them/ In so myche that after
 my lord Cardynall was departyd frome the Court & retourned
 home vnto his place at westminster/ not forgetyng the kynges
 15 request & Councell/ beyng in his Gallery/ called there byfore
 hym the seyd lord Percye/ vnto his presence/ And byfore vs
 his seruautes of his chamber sayeng thus vnto hym/ **I mervell**
 not a littill/ q^d he/ of thy pevyshe follye that thou woldest
 tangle and ensuer thy self w^t a folysshe gyrrle yonder in the
 20 Court/ I mean Anne Bolloyn/ dost thou not consider thestate that
 god hathe called the vnto in this world/ ffor after the deathe of
 thy noble ffather thou art most lyke to inherite & possesse oon
 of the most worthyest Erldomes of thys Realme/ therfore it had
 byn most meate & convenient for the to haue sewed for the
 25 concent of thy ffather/ [f. 19] in that behalfe And to haue also
 made the kynges highnes privye therto requeryng than his
 pryncely favor submytting all thy hole procedyng in all suche
 matters vnto his highnes/ who wold not oonly accepte thank-
 fully yo^r submyssion/ but wold I assure the/ provyde so for yo^r
 30 purpose therin that he wold auance you myche more nobly
 And haue matched you accordyng to yo^r estat & honour/
 wherby ye myght haue growen so by yo^r wysdome & honorable
 behauour in to the kynges highe estymacion that it shold haue
 byn myche to yo^r encrease of honor/ But nowe behold what ye
 35 haue don thorowghe yo^r wyllfullnes/ ye haue not oonly
 offendyd yo^r naturall father but also yo^r most gracious souerayn

3 Qune canc. before Quens
 canc. after the
 30 auance] M.S. auanced

4 he canc. before fall
 25 to canc. before to

12 precontract
 27 all interl. before thy

lord And matched yo^r selfe wt oon suche as nother the kyng ne
yet yo^r ffather wilbe agreeable wt the matter/ And herof I put you
owt of drought/ that I wolle send for yo^r ffather/ And at his
Commyng he shall other breke this onadvysed contracte or
elles disinherit the for euer/ The kynges mat^{ie} hym self woll 5
complayn to thy ffather on the/ And requyer no lesse at his
handes than I haue seyd/ whos highnes entendyd to haue
preferred hir/ vnto an other person/ wt whome the kyng hathe
travelled allredye/ and beyng almost at a poynt wt the same
person (allthoughe she knowyth it not) yet hathe the kyng most 10
lyke a polityke & a prudent prynce/ conveyed the matter in
suche sort that she vpon the kynges mocyon wilbe (I dought
not) right glad & agreeable to the same/ **Syr/ q^d** the lord Percye
(all wepyng) I knewe no thyng of the kynges pleasure therin (for
whos displeasure I ame very sory) I considered that I was of 15
good yeres and thought my selfe sufficient to provyd me of a
convenyent wyfe where as my ffantzy serued me best (not
doughtyng) but that my lord my father wold haue byn right
well perswadyd/ And thoughe she be a symple mayde & hauyng
but a knyght to hir father yet is she dissendyd of right noble 20
parentage/ as by hyr mother she [f. 19v] is nyghe of the Norffolk
bloode/ And of hyr ffather side lynyally dissendyd of the Erle
of Ormond he beyng oon of the Erles heyers generall/ wye shold
I than (sir) be any thyng scrypolous to matche wt hir whos
estate of dissent is equyvolent wt myn/ whan I shalbe in most 25
dygnyticie/ Therfore I most humbly requyer yo^r grace of yo^r
especyall fauour herin/ And also to entret the kynges most royall
mat^{ie} most lowly on my behalf for his pryncely benyvolence in
thys matter the w^{ch}e I cannot deny or forsake// **Loo sirs/ q^d** the 30
Cardynall ye may se what conformytie or wysdome is in this
wylfull boys hed/ I thought that whan thou hardest me declare
the kynges entendyd pleasure & travell herein thou woldest
haue relented and holy submytted thy self and all thy wyllfull
and onadvysed fact to the kynges Royall wyll & prudent pleasure 35
to be fully disposed & ordered by his graces disposicion as his
highnes shold seme good

2 yo canc. before you; you interl. 3 ffaher canc. after yo^r 5 disinherite
canc. after elles 6 no le canc. before at 10 the interl. 13 right]
MS. be right with be interl. 25 equyol canc. before equyvolent; in interl.

Sir so I wold q^d the lord Percye/ but in this matter I haue goon
 so ferre byfore so many worthy witnesses that I knowe not howe
 to avoyde my self nor to discharge my Concyence/ **Wye** thynkest
 thou q^d the Cardynall/ that the kyng And I/ knowe not what we
 5 haue to do in as waytie a matter As this/ yes q^d he/ I warraunt
 the/ howbeit I can se in the no submyssion to the purpose/
ffor sothe my lord/ q^d my lord Percye if it please yo^r grace I
 wyll submytt my self holy to the kynges mat^e & grace in thys
 matter my conscience beyng discharged of the waytie burden of
 10 my precontract/ Well than q^d the Cardynall/ I wyll send for yo^r
 ffather owt of the Northe parties/ And he and we shall take
 suche order for the avoydyng of thys thy hasty folly as shalbe
 by the kyng thought most expedyent/ And in the mean season/
 I charge the & in the kynges name commaund the that thou
 15 presume not oons to resort in to hir Company as thou entendest
 to avoyde the kynges highe indygacion/ And this sayed he
 roose vppe & went in to his Chamber/
Than was/ the Erle of Norhumberland sent for in all hast in the
 kynges name/ who vpon knowlege of the kynges pleasure made
 20 quyke spedē to the Court/ And at his first Commyngh owt of the
 Northe he made his first [f. 20] repayer vnto my lord Cardynall/
 at whos mouthe he was advertysed in the cause of his hasty
 sendyng for/ beyng in my lorde Cardynalles gallerye w^t hymē in
 secrett commynycacion a long whyle/ And after ther long talkē
 25 my lord Cardynall Called for a Cuppe w^t wynne/ And drynkyng
 together they brake vppe/ and so departed the Erle vpon
 whome we ware commaunded to wayte & to convey hymē to hys
 seruauntes/ And in his goyng a way whan he came to the Gal-
 leryes ende he satt hymē down vpon a fforme/ that stode there
 30 for the wayters some tyme to take ther ease/ And beyng there
 sett/ Called hys Sonne the lord Percye vnto hymē And sayed in
 our presence/ thus in effect/ **Sone q^d he**/ thou hast allwayes
 byn a prowde, presumpcious, disdaynfull, And a very onthryfte
 waster/ And evyn so hast thou nowe declared thy self/ Therfore

3 d. canc. before avoyde 5 this/ yes] MS. this yes 6 .e canc.
 before in 7 q^d canc. before my lord 13 season canc. after mean
 15 in to interl.; vnto canc. before hir 19 know canc. before knowlege
 27 wayted canc. before wayte; wayte interl.; vpon hymē canc. after wayte;
 convey] MS. contey 28 seruauntes/ And] MS. seruauntes And
 31 vnto & canc. before in 34 So canc. before And

what Ioy,/ what Comfort,/ what pleasure/ or solace shold I
conceyve in the/ that thus w^tout disgression & advisement hast
mysused thy self/ havyng no maner of regard to me thy naturall
father ne inespecyall vnto thy souerayn lord/ to whome all
honest And loyall subiectes berythe faythfull & humble 5
obedience/ ne yet to the welthe of thyn owen estate But hathe
so onadvysedly ensured thy self to hir for whome thou hast
purchased the/ the kynges displeasure intollerable for any
subiecte to susteyn/ but that his grace of his mere wysdome
dothe consider the lightnes of thy hed and wilfull qualites of 10
thy person/ his displeasure and Indignacion ware sufficient to
cast me and all my postertytie in to vtter subuercion & dysso-
lacion/ but he beyng my especyall & syngular good lord and
fauorable prynce/ And my lord Cardynall my good lord/ hathe
and dothe clearely excuse me in thy lowd facte/ And dothe 15
Rather lament thy lightnes, than malyng the same/ And hathe
devysed an order to be taken for the/ to whome bothe thou & I
be more bound than we be able well to consider/ I pray to god
that this may be to the a sufficient monycion & warnyng to vse
thy self more wittier hereafter for thus I assure the yf thou dost 20
not amend thy prodigalitie thou wylt be the last Erle of our
howsse/ ffor of thy naturall Inclynacion thou art disposed
[f. 20^v] to be wastfull prodegall And to consume all that thy
progenytors hathe w^t great travell gathered to gether And kept
w^t honour/ But hauyng the kynges ma^tie my syngular good & 25
gracious lord I intend (god wylling) so to dispose my succession
that ye shall consume therof but a littill/ for I do not purpose
(I assure the) to make the myn heyer (ffor prayses be to god)
I haue more choyes of Boyes who I trust wyll prove them selfes
myche better And vse them more lyke vnto nobilitie/ among 30
whome I woll chos & take the best & most lykelyest to succed
me/ Nowe maysters & good gentilmen q^d he vnto vs/ yt may be
yo^r chaunces heraftur whan I ame deade to se the prove of thes

3 mys mysused *canc.* before mysused with mys *interl.*; mysused *interl.*
7 advysed *canc.* before onadvysedly; onadvysedly] MS. on advysedly 9 of
canc. before grace 12 in *interl.* 20 thus] s frayed away at edge
of page 21 last] st frayed away at edge of page 22 disposed]
d frayed away at edge of page 23 that *interl.* 25 good *interl.*; lord
canc. before & 29 more] MS. more more 30 vnto noblytye//
canc. before vnto

thynges that I haue spoken to my Sonne prove as true as I haue spoken them/ yeat in the mean season I desier you all to be his frend and to tell hym hys fault whan he dothe amys wherein ye shall shewe yo^r selfes to be myche his frendes/ And w^t that 5 he toke hys leave of vs/ And sayed to his sonne thus/ goo yo^r wayes And attend vpon my lordes grace yo^r mayster/ And se that you do yo^r dewtie/ And so departyd and went his ways down thoroouge the hall in to his barge/ Than after long debatyng and consultacion vpon the lorde Percyes assuraunce/ 10 yt was devySED that the same shold be enfrynged and dissoluED/ And that the lord Percy shold mary w^t oon of the Erle of Shrewesburyes doughters/ As he dyd after/ By means whereof the former contracte was clearely ondon/ wherew^t m^{rs} Anne Bolloyn was greatly offendyd/ Sayeng that if it lay euer in hir 15 power she wold worke the Cardynall as myche displeasure (As she dyd in dede after) And yet was he nothyng to blame/ ffor he practised no thyng in that matter but it was the kynges oonly devyse/ And evyn as my lord Percy was commaundyd to avoyd hir Company/ Evyn so was she commaundyd to avoyde the 20 Court/ And she sent home agayn to hir ffather for a season/ where at she smoked for all this while she knewe no thyng of the kynges entendyd purpose/ **But ye/** may se whan ffortune begynnythe to lower howe she can compasse a matter to worke displeasure by a farre fetche/ **ffor nowe** marke good redēr the 25 grudge howe it began that in processe burst owt to the vtter ondoyng of the Cardynall/ **O lord** what a god art thou that workest thy secretes so wondersly w^{ch}e be not [f. 21] perceyved vntill they be brought to passe and ffynysshed/ marke thys history folowyng/ good redēr/ And note euery circumstaunce/ 30 And thou shall espie at thyn eye the wonderfull workes of god agaynst suche persons as forgettithe god and his great benefites/ Marke I say/ marke them well/

After that all thes troblesome matters of my lord Percys was brougthe to a good staye/ And all thynges ffynesshed that was 35 byfore devySED/ M^{rs} Anne Bolloyn was revoked vnto the Court where she florished after in great estimacion And ffauour/

10 be interl. 16 he interl. before nothyng 17 it] t written over s; was
interl. 20 father canc. before ffather 25 h canc. before it 29 esto
canc. before history

havyng allwayes a privye Indygnacion vnto the Cardynall for brekyng of the precontract made bytwen my lord Percye & hir supposyng that it had byn his owen devyse & wyll and non other/ not yet beyng privye to the kynges secretty mynd al-
 though that he hade a great affeccion vnto hir/ howbeit after 5
 she knewe the kynges pleasure and the great love that he bare hir
 in the bottome of his stomake/ Than began she to loke very
 hault and stowt hauyng all maner of Ioyelles or riche apparell
 that myght be gotten w^t mony/ yt was therfore Iuged by and by
 thoroughghe all the Court of euery man that she beyng in suche 10
 fauour w^t the kyng myght worke maystres w^t the kyng And
 opteyn any sewte of hym for hir ffrend/ And all this while she
 beyng in this estymacion in all places/ yt is no dought but good
 Quen katheren hauyng this gentillwoman dayly attendingy vpon
 hir/ bothe hard by report/ And perceyved byfore hir eyes the 15
 matter howe it framed ayenst hir (good lady) althoughe she
 shewed (to m^r Anne/ ne vnto the kyng) any sparke or kynd of
 grudge or displeasure/ but toke and accepted all thynges in good
 part And w^t wysdome and great pacience dissimuled the same/
 hauyng M^rs Anne in more estymacion for the kynges sake than 20
 she had byfore/ declaryng hir self therby to be a perfect
 Grysheld/ as hir pacient actes shall hereafter more evidently to
 all men be declared/ The kyng waxed so ferre in amours w^t this
 gentilwoman/ that he knewe not howe myche he might avaunce
 hir/ This perceyveng the great lordes of the Councell beryng a 25
 secretty grudge ayenst the Cardynall because that they could not
 rewle in the Comenwell (for hym) as they wold/ who kept them
 lowe and rewled theme as well as other meane subiectes/ where
 at they caught an occasion [f. 21v] to Invent a mean to bryng
 hym owt of the kynges highe fauour and them in to more 30
 auctorytie of Rewle & Cyvell gouernance/ after long and secretty
 consultacion among them selfes howe to bryng ther malice to
 effect ayenst the Cardynall/ They knewe right well that it was
 very deficyll for them to do any thyng directly of them selfes

3 hys canc. before his	9 wha canc. before was	10 thoug canc.
before thoroughghe; the canc. before that	12 while interl.	18 a single
indecipherable letter canc. before or	25 hir/ This] MS. hir This; beryng	
MS. beryng	26 not interl.	27 Comenwell] MS. Coen well.
See n.	31 Cyvell canc. before Cyvell	34 thyng interl.

wherfore they perceyvyng the great affeccion that the kyng bare
 lovyngly vnto M^{rs} Anne Bolleyn ffantazyng in ther heddes that
 she shold be for them a suffycyent & an Apt Instrument to
 bryng ther malicioouse purpose to passe/ w^t whome they often
 5 consulted in this matter/ And she hauyng bothe a very good
 wytt and also an Inward desier to be revenged of the Cardynall/
 was as agreable to ther requestes as they ware them selfes/
 wherfore ther was no more to do but oonly to Imagyn some
 pretenced circumstaunce to Induce ther malicious accusacion/
 10 In so myche that there was Imagyned & Invented among them
 dyuers Imagynacions and subtil devysis howe this matter shold
 be brought abought/ the enterprice therof was so dayngerous
 that though they wold fayn haue often attempted the matter w^t
 the kyng/ yet they durst not/ for they knewe the great lovyng
 15 affeccion and thespecyall fauour that the kyng bare to the
 Cardynall/ And also they feared the wonder wytt of the
 Cardynall/ for thys they vnderstode very well/ that if ther
 matter that they shold propone ayenst hym were not grounded
 vpon a lust and an vrgent cause the kynges fauor beyng suche
 20 towardes hym and his wytt suche that he wold w^t pollicye van-
 quyshe all ther purpose & travayll and than lye in a waytte to
 worke them an vtter distruccion and subuercion wherfore they
 ware compelled all thynges considered to forbere ther enterprice
 vntill they myght espie a more convenient tyme & occasion/
 25 And yet the Cardynall espieng the great zeale that the kyng had
 conceyved in this Gentill woman/ Ordered hym self to please as
 well the kyng as hyr/ Dissimulyng the matter that laye hyd in his
 brest/ And prepared great Bankettes And solempne feastes to
 entertayn them bothe/ at his owen howsse/ And thus the world
 30 began to growe in to wonderfull Invencions not hard of byfore
 in this Realme/ the love bytwen the kyng & this gorgious lady
 grewe to suche a perfeccion that dyuers Imagynacions ware
 Imagyned/ wheroft I leve to speke vntill I come to the place where
 I may haue more occasion/ [f. 22]

2 /hyme my lady canc. after vnto; M^{rs} interl. 9 circumstaunce] MS.
 circumstaunce 12 abought/ the] MS. abought the 13 of canc.
 before often 17 vn canc. before they 18 matt. canc. before
 matter; pp shold canc. after they with shold interl.; hyme interl. 19 an canc.
 before and; and an interl.; cause the] MS. cause (the 24 p . . . canc.
 before occasion 32 grewe interl.

Than began/ a Certeyn Grodge to arise betwen the ffrenche kyng and the Duke of Bourbon/ in so myche as the Duke beyng vassayll to the howsse of ffraunce was constrainyd for the savegard of his person to ffe his domynion and to forsake his terretory & Contrie dowghtyng the kynges great malice and 5 Indignacion/ The Cardynall havyng therof Intelligence/ Compased in his hed that if the kyng our souerayn lord (havyng an occasion of warres w^t the Realme of ffraunce) myght Retayn the Duke to be his generall in his warres there in as myche as the Duke was fflid vnto the Emprour to Invyte hym also to stere 10 warres ayenst the ffrenche kyng/ The Cardynall hauyng all this Imagynacion in his hed/ thought it good to move the kyng in this matter And after the kyng was oons aduertised herof/ And conceyved the Cardynalles Imagynacion & Invencion/ he dremed of this matter more & more vntill at the last it came in 15 question among the Councell in consultacion So that it was there fynally concludyd that an Ambassett shold be sent to the Emprour abought this matter/ w^t whome it was concludyd that the kyng and the Emperour shold Ioyn in thes warres ayenst the ffrenche kyng And that the Duke of Bourbon shold be our 20 Souerayn lordes Champion & generall in the feld/ who had appoynted hym a great nomber of good Souldiors ouer & besides the Emperours army w^{cne} was not small/ and led by oon of his owen noble men/ and also that the kyng shold pay the Duke his wages & his retynewe monthly/ In so myche as sir 25 Iohn Russell (w^{cne} was after Erle of Beddford) lay contynually by yond the sees in a secrette place assigned bothe for to receyve the kynges mony and to paye the same monthly to the Duke/ So that the Duke began fierce warre w^t the ffrenche kyng in his owen terretory & Dukdome/ w^{cne} the ffrenche kyng had 30 confisckatt and seased in to his handes/ yet not knownen to the dukes ennemyes that he had any Ayed of the kyng our souerayn lord/ And thus he wrought the ffrenche kyng moche troble & displeasure/ In so myche as the ffrenche kyng was compelled of

3 a canc. before vassayll 11 ffrenhe/canc. before ffrenche 13 aduerty
canc. before aduertised and of the before herof 15 matter canc.
before matter 24 pay interl. 25 s canc. after Duke; first his interl.;
wages canc. before wages and monthely before monthly; monthly/ interl.
28 the interl. before Duke 30 owen interl. 31 confisckatt canc.
before confisckatt

fyne force to put harnoys on his bake & to prepare a pieusaunt
 army Royall and in his own person to auaunce to defend and
 resist the Dukes power and malice/ the duke hauyng vnder-
 standyng [f. 22v] of the kynges avauncemet was compelled of
 5 force to take Pavya a strong town in Itally w^t his host for ther
 securitie where as the kyng beseged hym & encamped hym
 wonderouse strongly entendyng to enclose the Duke w^t in thy
 towen that he shold not Issewe/ yet notw^tstandyng the Duke
 wold & did many tymes Issewe and escramoche w^t the kynges
 10 army/ **Nowe** lett vs leave the kyng in his Campe byfore Pavya
 And retourne to the lord Cardynall/ who Semed to be more
 ffrenche than Emperyall/ but howe it came to passe I cannot
 declare you/ but the kyng lyeng in hys Campe sent secretly in to
 Englond a pryy person a very wytty to treatte of a peace
 15 bytwen hym and the kyng our souerayn lord whos name was
 Iohn Lokyn/ he was kept as secrett as myght be that no man had
 Intelligence of his repayer for he was no ffrenche man but an
 Itallion borne a man byfore of no estymacyon in ffraunce/ or
 knownen to be in fauour w^t hys mr^r, but to be a merchaunt, and for
 20 his subtill wytt elected to entreat of suche affayers as the kyng
 had Commaundyd hym by ambassett/ This Lokyn after his
 arryvall here in England was secretly conveyed vnto the kynges
 manour of Richemond and there remayned vntill wytsonyd at
 w^che tyme the Cardynall resortyd thether and kept there the seyd
 25 feast very Solomply/ In w^che season my lord Caused thys Ioken
 dyuers tymes to dyne w^t hym/ whos talke & behauour semed
 to be wytty, sober & wonderouse discret who contynued in
 Englond long after vntyll he had (as it semed) brought his
 purposed ambassett to passe w^che he had in commyssion// ffor
 30 after this there was sent owt Immedyatlly a restraynt vnto sir Iohn
 Russell in to thos parties where he made his abydyng by yond
 the sees that he shold retyne and kepe bake that monythe
 wages still in hys handes w^che shold haue byn payed vnto the
 Duke of Burbon (vntyll the kynges pleasure ware to hym
 35 further knownen) ffor want of w^che mony at the day appoynted of

15 called *canc. before* was; was *interl.*

17 borne *canc. before* but

21 *comaay canc. before* Commaundyd

24 his *canc. after* there

25 of

canc. before very

27 se *canc. after* be

30 *Immedyatlly* t

written over 1

payment/ The Duke & his retynewe ware greatly dismayd and sore disapoyned/ And whan they sawe that ther mony was not brought vnto them as it was wont to be/ And beyng in so dayngerous a case for want of victualles w^{ch}e was wonderouse skant & deare there was many Imagynacions what shold be the 5 cause of the lett therof/ Some sayd this & some sayd they wyss neufer what/ So that they mystrusted no [f. 23] thyng lesse than the very Cause therof/ In so myche at the last what for want of victuall and other necessaries w^{ch}e could not be gotten w^t in the town The Capteyns & Sowldiours began to grudge and Mutter 10 And at the last for lake of victuall ware lyke all to perysse/ they beyng in this extremytie came byfore the Duke of Burbon ther Capteyn/ And sayd/ Sir we must be of very force and necessitie compelled to yeld vs in to the daynger of our ennemyes and better it ware for vs so to do then here to sterve lyke dogges/ 15 whan the Duke hard ther lamentacions and vnderstode the extremytie that they ware brought vnto for lake of mony (sayd agayn) vnto theme/ Sirs q^d he ye are bothe valyaunt men and of noble Corage who hathe seruyd here vnder me right worthely and for yo^r necessitie wherof I ame partycypant I do not a littill 20 lament/ howbeit I shall desier you as you are noble in hartes and Corage so to take pacience for a day or twayn/ And if Socoure come not than frome the kyng of Englund (as I dought no thyng) that he wyll dissayve vs/ I woll well agree that we shall all put our selfes and all our lyfes vnto the mercy of our ennemyes/ 25 wher w^t they ware all agreable And expectyng the Commyng of the kynges mony the space of iij^{re} dayes (the w^{ch}e dayes past) the Duke seyng no remedye/ called his noble men & Capteyns And Sowldiours byfore hym/ And all wepyng sayd/ O ye noble Capteyns and valyaunt men, my gentill Companyons/ I se no 30 remedye in this necessitie but other we must yeld vs vnto our ennemyes or elles ffamysshe/ And to yeld the town and our selfes I knowe not the mercye of our ennemyes/ And as for my part I passe not of ther Cruelties/ ffor I knowe very well that I shall suffer most cruell deathe if I come oons in to ther handes/ 35

5 whcanc. before shold 6 therof/ Some] M.S. therof Some 7 thynke
lesse canc. before thyng 16 r of vnderstode interl. 20 wherof]
M.S. (wherof 29 sayeng canc. before all; all interl. 32 ffamysshe/
And] M.S. ffamysshe And; to interl.; yeld canc. after to 35 most interl.

yt is not for my selfe therfore that I do lame^t but it is for yo^r
 sakes, yt is for yo^r lyfes/ yt is also for the saluegard of yo^r persons
 ffor so that ye myght escape the daynger of yo^r ennemyes handes
 I wold most gladly suffer deathe/ Therfore good Companyons
 5 and noble Sowldyours I shall requyer yow all/ consideryng the
 dayngrous mystery and Calamytie/ that we stand in at this
 present to sell our lyves most derely rather then to be murdered
 lyke beastes/ yf ye wyll folowe my Councel we woll take vpon
 vs this nyght to geve our ennemyes an assault to ther Campe and
 10 by [f. 23v] that means we may other escape or elles geve them
 an ouerthrowe/ And thus it ware better to dye in the feld lyke
 men than to lyve in captivytie and mystery as prisoners/ To the
 w^{ch}e they all agreed/ Then q^d the Duke/ ye perceyve that our
 ennemyes hathe encamped vs w^t a strong Campe And that there
 15 is no way to enter but oon w^{ch}e is so plantyd w^t great ordynaunce
 And force of men that it is not possible to enter that wayes to
 fight w^t our ennemyes w^tout great daynger/ And also ye se that
 nowe of late they haue hade small dought of vs In so myche as
 they haue kepte but slender watche/ therfore my pollicye &
 20 devyse shall be this/ that abought the deade tyme of the nyght
 whan our ennemyes be most quyot at rest/ shall Issue frome vs a
 nomber of the most delyuerest sowldyours to assault ther
 Campe who shall geve the assaulte right fiercely evyn dyrectly
 ayenst the entre of the Campe w^{ch}e is all most Invyncyble/ yo^r
 25 ferce & sharpe assault shalbe to them in the Campe so dought-
 full that they shalbe compelled to torne the strengthe of ther
 entre that lyethe ouer ayenst yo^r assault to beate you frome the
 assaulte than wyll I issue owt at the posterne and come to the
 place of ther strenthe newlie torned And there or they beware
 30 woll I entere and fight w^t them at the same place where ther
 gonne & strengthe lay byfore And so come to the rescue of you
 of the sault/ And wynnyng ther ordynaunce w^{ch}e they haue
 torned And beat them w^t ther owen peces/ And than we
 Ioynynge together in the feld I trust we shall haue a fayer hand
 35 of theme/ This devyse pleased them wonderouse well/ than

8 yf interl. 10 that canc. before that 12 prisoners/ To] MS.
 prisoners To 22 sowldyours interl. 27 beate y canc. before beate
 29 of ther strenthe interl.; b canc. before beware 30 place interl.
 31 b canc. before before 34 to canc. after trust; we shall interl.

prepared they all that day for the purposed devyse And kept them secrett & cloose w^tout Any noyse or shott of peces w^tin the town w^{ch}e gave ther ennemyes the lesse feare of any troble that nyght but euery man went to ther rest/ w^tin ther Tentes & lodgynges quyotly no thyng mystrustynge that after ensued/ 5 Then whan all the kynges host was at rest/ the assaylauntes issued owt of the town w^t owt any noyce accordyng to the former appoynthe^t And gave a fierce & cruell assault at the place appoynted/ that they w^t in the Campe had as myche a do to defend as was possible to resist/ And evyn as the Duke had 10 byfore declared to his sowldyours [f. 24] they w^tin ware compelled to torne ther shott that lay at ther entre ayenst the assayllauntes/ w^t that Issued the duke and w^t hym abought xv^{en} or xvij^{en} thousand men or more/ And secretlyn in the nyght his ennemyes beyng not privey of his Commyng vntill he was 15 entred the fyld and at his first entre he was m^r of all the ordynaunce that lay there and slewc the gonnars and charged the seyd peces & bent them ayenst his ennemyes whome he slewe wondersly a great nomber/ he Cut down Tentes and Pavylions and murdred them w^t in them or they wyst of ther 20 Commyng/ Suspectyng/ no thyng lesse than The dukes entre/ So that he whan the feld or euer the kyng could aryse to the rescue/ who was taken in hys lodgyng or euer he was armed/ And whan the Duke had opteyned the fyld & the ffrenche kyng taken prisoner, his men slayn And his tentes Robbed & spoyled 25 w^{ch}e was wonderous Riche And in the spoyle sercheng of the kynges treasour in his Coffers/ there was found among them the leage newly concludyd bytwen the kyng of Englond & the ffrenche kyng vnder the great seale of Englond/ w^{ch}e oons by hym perceyved he began to smell the Impedyng^t of his mony 30 w^{ch}e shold haue come to hym frome the kyng/ havyng (vppon dewe serche of this matter) further Intellygence that all this matter & his vtter vndoing was concludyd & devysed by the Cardynall of Englond/ And the Duke conceyvyng suche an

3 lesse interl. 5-6 ensued/ Then] MS. ensued Then 6 host canc.
before kynges 7 owt interl. after w^t 13 assayllauntes/ w^t] MS.
assayllauntes wt 16 the canc. before all 17 er canc. between the two n's
of gonnars 20 wyst canc. after they; ware canc. before wyst; wyst interl.
21 no thyng canc. after Suspectyng 25 spoyled canc. before spoyled

Indygnacion herevpon ayenst the Cardynall/ that after he hadde
 establysshed all thynges there in good order & securitie/ he went
 Incontynent vnto Rome entendyng ther to sakke the town And
 to haue taken the Pope prisoner/ where at his first assault of the
 5 walles he was the first man that was there slayn (yet not-
 w'tstandyng) his Capteyns contynued there the assault And in
 conclusion wane the town And the Pope fled vnto Castell
 Ayngell/ where he contynued long after in great Calamyte/
I have writyn thus thys history at large bycause it was thought
 10 that the Cardynall gave the chefe occasion of all thys myschefe/
 ye may perceyve what thyng so euer a man purposithe [f. 24v]
 be he prynce or prelate yet notw'tstandyng god disposithe all
 thynges at his wyll & pleasure/ wherfore it is great foly for any
 wyse man to take any waytie enterprise of hym self trustyng
 15 all together to his owen wyll not callyng for grace to assist hym
 in all his procedynges/ I haue knownen & seen in my dayes that
 prynces And great men wold other assemble at any Parliament or
 in any other great busynes first wold most reuerently call to god
 for his gracious assistaunce therin And nowe I se the contrary/
 20 wherfore me semys that they trust more in ther owen wisdomes
 & Imagynacions than they do to goddes helpe & disposicion
 And therfore often they spedē therafter and ther matters take
 suchē successe/ Therfore not oonly in this history but in
 dyuers others ye may perceyve right evydent examples And yet
 25 I se no man in auctorytie or highe estate Allmost regard or haue
 any respect to the same (the greatter is the pitie and the more
 to be lamented/ Nowe wyll I desist frome this matter/ and
 procede to other)

Vppon the takyng of the ffrenche kyng many Consultacions
 30 And dyuers oppynyons ware than in argument among the
 Councell here in England/ wheroft Some hild oppynyon/ that if
 the kyng wold Invade the realme of ffraunce in propir person w^t
 a pieusaunt Army Royall he myght easely conquerē the same
 consideryng that the ffrenche kyng and the most part of the
 35 noble pieers of ffraunce ware than prisoners w^t the Emproure/

2 there interl.

4 a canc. before assault

11 th canc. before so

12 kyng canc. before prelate

13 at canc. before at

15 vppon canc.

before for

18 wold interl.

27 I interl.

35 Emproure] MS.

Emproure

Some agayn sayed/ howe that ware no honour for the kyng our souerayn lord (the kyng beyng in Captiuyte) But some sayed that the ffrenche kyng owght by the lawe of Armez to be the kynges prisoner/ for as myche as he was taken by the kynges Capteyn Generall (the Duke of Burbon) and not by the Emprours so that 5 some moved the kyng to take warre therppon w^t the Emprour/ onles he wold delyuer the ffrenche kyng owt of his handes and possession/ w^t dyuers many other Imagynacions and Invencions evyn as euery mans ffantazys seruyd theme to long here to be rehersed the w^{ch}e I leave to the writers of Cronycles/ Thus 10 contynuyng [f. 25] long in debatyng vppon this matter/ And euery man in the Court had there talke as wyll w^tout wyt led ther fantazis/ At the last it was devyse by means of dyuers ambassettes sent in to Englonde owt of the Realme of ffraunce desyryng the kyng our souerayn lord to take order w^t the 15 Emprour for the ffrenche kynges delyuere as his Royall wysdome shold seme good/ wherin the Cardynall bare the stroke/ So that After long delyberacion And Advyse taken in this matter it was thought good by the Cardynall that the Emprour shold redelyuer owt of his ward the ffrenche kyng vppon sufficent 20 pledges/ And that the kynges too Sonnes (that is to say) the Dolphyn and the Duke of Orlyaunce shold be delyuerd in hostage for the kyng ther ffather w^{ch}e was in conclusion brought to passe/ Than after the kynges delyuere owtt frome themprours vse & the kynges our souerayn lordes securitie for the recom- 25 pence of all suche demaundes and restitucions as shold be demaundyd of the ffrenche kyng/ The Cardynall lamentyng the ffrenche kynges Calamytie/ And the Popes great aduersitie (w^{ch}e yet remayned in Castell ayngell) owther as a prisoner or elles for his defence & savegard (I cannot tell whether) Travelled 30 all that he could w^t the kyng & his Councell to take order as well for the delyuere of the oon, as for the quyotnes of thother/ At last as ye haue hard here tofore/ howe dyuers of the great estates/ & lordes of the Councell lay in a wayt w^t my lady Anne

1 howe *interl.*; the kyng *interl.*5 Ge *canc.* before Generall

MS. Cronyclers before taken

canc. before estates

3 the *interl.* before kynges6 therppon *interl.*11 in *canc.* after contynuyng25-26 the recompence of *interl.*

10 Cronycles]

18 taken *canc.*

34 estes estates

Bulloyn to espie a convenient tyme & occasion to take the Cardynall in a brake/ thought it than that nowe is the tyme come that we haue expected supposyng it best to cause hym to take vppon hym the kynges Commyssion and to travell by yond the
 5 sees in this matter/ Sayeng (to encorage hym thereto) that it ware more mete for his highe dissercion, wytt & auctorytie to compasse & bryng to passe a perfight peace among thes great & most myghty prynces of the world than any other w^t in this Realme or elles where/ Ther ententes & purpose was oonly but
 10 to gett hym owt of the kynges dayly presence/ And to convey hym owt of the Realme that they myght haue convenient laylor and opportunytie to Aduenture ther long desired enterprice/ And by the ayde of ther Cheafe m^{rs} (my lady Anne) to deprave hym so vnto the kyng in his absence that he shold
 15 be rather in his hyghe displeasure than in his accustumed fauour/ or at the lest to be in lesse estymacion w^t his mat^{le}/ well what wyll you haue more/ [f. 25v] Thys matter was so handeled that the Cardynall was commaundyd to prepare hymself to this Iourney the w^{cne} he was fayn to take vppon hym/ but wether
 20 it was w^t his good wyll or no I ame not well able to tell you/ but this I knewe that he made a short abode after the determinat resolucyon therof but caused all thynges to be prepared onward toward his Iourney And euery oon of his seruauntes ware appoynted that shold attend vppon hym in the same/
 25 **Whan all thynges** was fully concludyd And for thys noble ambassett provyded and furnysshed than was no lett but auaunce forwardes in the name of good/ my lord Cardynall had w^t hym suche of the lordes & bysshopes and other worthy persons as ware not privye of the Conspiracye/ Than marched
 30 he forward owt of his owen howsse at westminster passyng thoroughe all london ouer london brydge/ hauyng byfore hym of gentillmen a great nomber ij^{re} in a ranke in blake veluett lyuere Cottes and the most part of them w^t great chayns of gold
 35 abought ther neckes/ And all his yomen w^t noble men & gentilmens seruauntes folowyng hym in ffrenche tauny lyuere Coottes hauyng enbrodered vppon ther bakes & brestes of the

3 it *interl.* 9 or any other *canc. before* or 15 & *canc. before*
 than; than *and accustumed interl.* 17 whyll *canc. before* wyll

same Coottes thes letters/ T & C/ vnder the Cardynalles hatte/
 his Sompter Mewlles w^{ch}e ware xx^{ti} in nomber & moore w^t his
 Cartes & other Cariages of his trayn ware passed on by fore/
 conducted & garded w^t a great nomber of bowes & speres/ he
 Roode lyke a Cardynall very soumptuously on a mewle/ trapped 5
 w^t Crymmesyn veluett vppon veluett and his stirropes of Copper
 & gylt And his spare mewle folowyn hym w^t lyke apparrell/
 And byfore hym he hade his ij great Crossys of siluer/ ij great
 pillers of Syluer/ the great seale of England/ his Cardynalles hatt/
 And a gentilman that Caried his valaunce otherwyse called a 10
 clooke bage w^{ch}e was made all to gether of ffynne Scarlett clothe
 enbrodered ouer & ouer w^t clothe of gold very richely hauyng in
 hit a Clooke of fynne Scarlett/ thus passed he thorough london
 and all the way of his Iourney/ hauyng his harbergars passyng
 byfore to provyde lodgynges for his trayn/ The first Iourney he 15
 made to Dertford in kent vnto sir Richard wyltchers howsse
 w^{ch}e is too myles beyond Dertford where all his trayn ware
 lodged that nyght & in the Contrie there abought/ The next day
 he roode to Rochester and lodged in the bysshopes palice there
 and the rest of his trayn in the Cytie & in Strode on this side the 20
 bryge [f. 26] The iij^{de} day/ he Rode frome thence to ffeuersham/
 And there was lodged in the Abbey and his trayn in the town
 and some in the Contrie/ there aboughtes/ The iiijth day he Rode
 to Caunterbury where he was encountered w^t the worshipfullest 25
 of the town and Contrye and loged in the Abbey of Crystes
 churche in the Prours lodgyng/ And all his trayn in the Citie/
 where he contynued iij^{re} or iiij^{or} dayes in w^{ch}e tyme ther was the
 great Iubely And a fayer in honour of the feast of Seynt Thomas
 ther patron/ In w^{ch}e day of the seyd feast w^tin the abbey there
 was made a Solompne procession and my lord Cardynall 30
 presently in the same Appareled in his legantyn ornamente w^t
 his Cardynalles hatt on hys hed/ who commaundyd the monkes
 and all ther quyer to syng the littany after thys sort Sancta maria
 ora pro papa nostro Clemente And so pervsed the litteny

2 ware interl.

4 bylles & canc. before bowes 13 cloke canc.

before Clooke

14 harbergars canc. before harbergars 15 pro canc.

before provyde

18 abought/ The] MS. abought The 20 stro

canc. before Strode

23 aboughtes/ The] MS. aboughtes The 31 same canc.

26 loging canc. before lodgyng

27 tyme interl. before same

thoroughe/ my lord Cardynall knelyng at the quyer doore at a
 forme couered w^t Carpettes and Cusshons The monkes & all
 the quyer standyng all that while in the myddes of the bodye of
 the chirche/ At w^{ch}e tyme I sawe the Cardynall wepe very
 5 tenderly w^{ch}e was as we supposed for hevynes that the pope was
 at that present in suche Calamytie & great daynger of the
 launceknighthes/ The next day I was sent w^t letters frome my
 lord Cardynall vnto Calice by emposte In so myche as I was that
 same nyght in Calice/ And at my landyng I found standyng
 10 vpon the peere w^tout lanterne Gate all the Councell of the
 towne to whome I delyuerd and dispeched my message &
 letters or euer I entred the town/ where as I lay ij dayes after or
 my lord came thether/ who arryved in the havyn there ij day
 aftyr my commyng abought viijth of the Cloke in the mornynge/
 15 where he was receyved in procession w^t all the worshipfullest
 persons of the town in most Solomplest wyse And in the lantern
 gate was sett for hym a forme w^t Carpettes & Cusshons/ where
 att he kneled & made hys prayers byfore his entre any further in
 the town and there he was senced w^t ij great Sencers of Syluer
 20 and sprynkylled w^t halewater/ That don he arrose vppe &
 passed on w^t all that assemble byfore hym syngeng vnto Seynt
 Maris churche/ where he standyng at the highe Aulter tornyng
 hym self to the people gave them his benediccion & clean
 remyssion/ And than they conducted hym frome thence vnto
 25 an [f. 26^v] howsse called the Chekker/ where he lay & kepte his
 howse as long as he abode in the town (goyng Immedyatlly to his
 naked bed by cause he was somewhat trobled w^t syknes in his
 passage vpon the Sees that nyght) vnto this place of the
 Chekker resorted to hym Monsur de Bees Captayn of Bolloyn
 30 w^t a nomber of gallaunt gentilmen, who dyned w^t hym/ And
 after some consultacion w^t the Cardynall/ he w^t the rest of the
 gentilmen departid agayn to Bolloyn Thus the Cardynall was
 dayly visited w^t oon or other of the ffrenche nobilitie/ Than whan
 all his trayn & Cariages ware londed at Calice And euery thyng
 35 prepared in a redynes for his Iourney/ he called byfore hym all

13 came canc. before came
canc. before That
32 w^t canc. before Thus

16 Solomplest] e written over y
21 hyng canc. after byfore; hym interl.; the canc.
before Seynt
28 sees canc. before Sees; nyght)] MS. nyght/
33 nobilitie/ Than] MS. nobilitie Than

20 Thi

his noble men and gentilmen in to his privye chamber/ where
they beyng assembled sayd vnto them in thys wyse in effect/
I haue (q^d he) called you hether to thys entent to declare vnto
you/ that I consideryng the dyligence that ye mynster vnto me/
And the good wyll that I bere you agayn for the same entending 5
to remember yo^r dyligent seruyce here after in place where ye
shall receyve condygn thankes & rewardes/ And also I wold shewe
you ferther what Auctorytie I haue receyved directly frome the
kynges highnes/ And to enstruct you somwhat of the nature of 10
the ffrenche men/ And then to enforme you what reuerence ye
shall vse vnto me for the highe honour of the kynges mat^{ie}/ And
also howe ye shall entertayn the ffrenchemen whan so euer ye
shall mete at any tyme/ **ffyrste**/ ye shall vnderstand that the
kynges mat^{ie} vppon certyn waytie consideracions hathe for the 15
more avauncemet of his Royall dignytie assigned me in this
Iourney to be his lieutenaunt generall/ And what reuerence
belongythe to the same I wyll tell you/ That for my part I must
by vertue of my commyssion of leutenauntshipe Assume & take
vppon me in all honour and degrees to haue all suche seruyce & 20
reuerence as to his hyghnes presence is mete & dewe/ And
nothyng therof to be neclected or omytted by me that to his
Royall estat is appurtaunt/ And for my part ye shall se me that
I will not omyt oon Iote/ therof/ Therfore bycause ye shall not 25
be Ignoraunt in that behalf/ ys oon of thespecyall causis of this
yo^r assemble wyllyng and commaund you as ye entend my
fauour/ not to forgett the same in tyme & place but euery of you
do obserue thys enformatcion & Instruccion/ as ye woll at my
retorne avoyd the kynges Indignacion but to opteyn his highnes 30
thankes the w^{ch}e I wyll further for you as ye shall deserue
[f. 27] Nowe to the poynt of the frenche mens nature/ ye shall
vnderstand that ther disposicion is suche/ that they wylbe at the
first metyng as ffamylier w^t you as they had byn acquayntyd w^t
you long byfore and commyn w^t you in the frenche tong as 35
thoughe ye vnderstode euery word they spoke/ therfore in lyke
maner/ and be ye as famylier w^t them agayn as they be w^t you/
yf they speke to you in the frenche tong speke you to them in the

15 his *interl.*; hathe *canc.* before assigned 21 me with e written over y
canc. before me 21-22 that to his *canc.* before Royall 23 I will
not *interl.* 29 shall *interl.* 35 ye *interl.*

Englysshe tong for if you vnderstand not them/ they shall no more vnderstand you/ And my lord spekyng merely to oon of the gentilmen there (beyng a welsheman) sayd Rice/ q^d he/ speke thou welshe to hym/ And I ame well assured that thy welshe
 5 shall be more defuse to hym/ than his frenche shall be to the/ And than/ q^d he agayn to vs all/ lett all yo^r entartaynmet & behauor be accordyng to all gentilnes & humanytie/ that it may be reportyd after yo^r departure frome thence/ that ye be gentilmen of right good hauour And of myche gentilnes/ And
 10 that ye be men that knowyth yo^r diewtie to yo^r souerayn lord & to yo^r mayster/ Allowyng myche yo^r great Reuerence/ Thus shall ye nott oonly optayn to yo^r selfes great commendacion & prayce for the same/ but also auaunce the honour of yo^r prynce & contrie/ Nowe goo yo^r wayes admonysshed of all thes poyntes/
 15 And prepare yo^r selfes ayenst to morowe/ ffor than we entend (god wyllyng) to sett forward/ And thus we beyng by hym Instructed & enformed departed to our lodgynges makynge all thynges in a redynes ayenst the next day/ to avaunce forthe w^t my lord/
 20 **The next morowe** beyng Marie Magdalens day all thynges beyng ffurnysshed my lord Cardynall Roode owt of Calice w^t suche a nomber of blake veluett Coottes as hathe not byn seen w^t an Ambassitor/ All the speres of Calice, Gynnes, and hamnes ware there attending vppon hym in this Iourney in blake
 25 veluett Cootes many great & massy Chaynnes of gold ware worne there/ thus passed he forthe w^t iij^{re} Gentilmen in a ranke w^{ch}e occupied the lengthe of iij^{re} quarters of a myle or more/ hauyng all his accustumed and [f. 27v] gloriouse furnytur caried byfore hym evyn as I before haue rehersed excepte the brode
 30 seale the w^{ch}e was left w^t doctor Tayllour in Calice than M^r of the Rolles vntill his retorne/ passyng thus on his way And beyng skant a myle of his Iourney it began to rayn so vchemently that I haue not seen the lyke for the tyme/ that endured vntill we came to Bulloyn/ And or we came to Sandyngfeld/ the Cardynall

5 be *canc.* before be to 5–6 the/ And] MS. the And 6 all/ lett] MS. all lett 10 of *canc.* before that knowyth 16 forward/And] MS. forward And; beyng *canc.* before beyng 24 the *canc.* before hym
 28 and] a written over g 30 m^r *canc.* before doctor 33 w^{ch}e was *canc.* before vntill 34 Bulloyn *canc.* before Bulloyn

of lorrain a goodly yong gentilman encountered my lord And receyved hym w^t great reuerence & Ioy And so passed forthe together vntill they came to Sandyngfeld w^{ch}e is a place of Religion standyng bytwen the frenche Englyshe & themprors domynyons beyng newter holdyng of nether of theme/ And 5 beyng come thether/ met w^t hym there le Countie Brian Capteyn of Pykardy w^t a great nomber of men of Armez as Stradiates and Arbanoys w^t other standyng in array in a great pece of Oates all in harnoys vppon light horsis passyng w^t my lord as it ware in a wyng all his Iourney thorough Pykkardy/ 10 ffor my lord Somewhat doughted the Emprour lest he wold lay an Ambusshe to betray hym/ ffor w^{ch}e cause the frenche kyng commaundyd theme to awayte vppon my lord for the Assuraunce of hys person owt of the daynger of his ennemyes/ Thus Roode he accompanyd vntill he came to the town of 15 Bolleyn/ where he was encountered w^tin a myle therof w^t the worshypfullest Citezyns of the Town hauyng among them a learned man that made to hym an Oracion in latten/ vnto the w^{ch}e my lord made answere semblably in latten/ And that don Monsur de Bees Captcyn of Bolloyn w^t the Retynewe there of 20 gentilmen mett hym on horsebake w^{ch}e conveyed hym in to the towen w^t all this assemble vntill he came to the Abbey gate where he lighted and went directly in to the Churche and made hys prayers byfore the Image of our lady to whome he made his offeryng/ And that don he gave there his blesyng to the 25 people w^t certyn dayes of pardon/ than went he in to the abbey where he was lodged and hys trayn ware lodged in the highe & basse towns// [f. 28] **The next mornyng**/ after he hard masse he rode vnto Muterell sur la mere where he was encountered in lyke case as he was the day byfore w^t the worshypfullest of the 30 town all in oon lyuere hauyng oon learned that made an oracion byfore hym in laten whome he answered in lyke maner in laten And as he entred in to the town there was a Canapie of sylke enbrodred w^t the letters & hatte that was on ther seruauntes Cottes borne ouer hym w^t the most persons of estymacion w^t 35

10 Ioy *canc.* before Iourney 14 person *canc.* before ennemyes 15 w^t *canc.* before vntill 22 town *canc.* before towen 24-25 made his offeryng *interl.*; offered *canc.* after offeryng 26 he in *canc.* before he 27 b. d *canc.* after trayn 35 persons *interl.*

in the town/ And whan he was alighted his footmen seased the same as a ffee dewe to ther office/ nowe was there made dyuers paiauntes for Ioy of hys Commyngh/ who was called there and in all other places w^t in the Realme of ffraunce as he travelled/ (le 5 Cardynall pacyfke) And in laten (Cardynallis pacificus) who was accompanied all that nyght w^t dyuers worthy gentilmen of the Contrie there abought/ The next day he Roode towardes Abvyle/ where he was encountrd w^t dyuers gentilmen of the Town & Contrie And so conveyed vnto the town where he was 10 most honorably receyved w^t paiauntes of dyuers kyndes wytely & Costly Invented standyng in euery Corner of the strettes as he roode thorough the town/ hauyng a lyke Cannapie borne ouer hym beyng of more richer sort than the other at Mutterell or at bolleyn was/ They brought hym to hys 15 lodgyng w^{ch}e was as it semed a very fayer howsse newly bylt w^t brykke/ At w^{ch}e howsse kyng lowice maried my lady mary kyng herre the viijth Sister w^{ch}e was after maried to the Duke of Suffolk Charles Brandon/ And beyng w^tin yt was in maner of a Gallery/ yet notw^tstandyng it was very necessary/ In thyss 20 howsse my lord remayned other viijth or x^{en} dayes/ to whome resorted daly dyuers of the Councell of ffraunce/ feastyng theme & other noble men & gentilmen that accompanied the Councell bothe at Dyners and Soppers/ Than whan the tyme came that he shuld depart frome thence he roode to a Castell beyond the 25 water of Somme called Pynkney castell adioynyng vnto the seyd watter standyng vpon a great rokke or hyll w^tin the w^{ch}e was a goodly Collage of prestes [f. 28v] the Cituacion wheroft was most lyke vnto the Castell of wyndesore in Englond And there he was receyved w^t a Solompne procession conveying hym fyrist in to 30 the Chirche/ And after vnto his logyng w^tin the Castell/ **At thyss castell** kyng Edward the iiijth met w^t the ffrenche kyng vpon the bryge that goyth ouer the water of Somme/ as ye may red in the Cronycles of Englond/ whan my lord was settilled w^tin his logyng/ it was reported vnto me that the ffrenche kyng 35 shold come that day in to Amyens w^{ch}e was w^tin vjth Englyssh

4 he canc. before (le 19 very canc. before very; very interl.; necessary/
In] MS. necessary In 25 le chatu canc. before Pynkney 33 Cro
canc. before Cronycles; Englond/ whan] MS. Englond whan; lord was interl.
35 come interl.

myles of Pynkkney Castell/ And beyng desirous to se his first
commynge in to the town Axed licence And toke w^t me oon or
too gentilmen of my lordes And rood in contynent thether/ As
well to provyde me of a necessary lodgynge as to se the kyng/ And
whan we came thether beyng but strayngers toke vppe our Inne 5
(for the tyme) at the signe of the Ayngell dyrectly ayenst the
west doore of the Cathederall Churche de notre dame saynt
Marye/ And after we had dyned there and tarieng vntill iij^{re} or
iiiij^{or} of cloke expectyng the kynges Commynge/ In came Madame
Regent (the kynges mother) Ridyng in a very riche Charyott and 10
in the same w^t hir was hir daughter the Quene of Naver fur-
nysshed w^t an Cth ladys or gentilwomen or more folowyng/
ridyng vpon whight Palfrayes ouer & besides dyuers other
ladys & gentillwomen that roode some in riche chariottes and
Some in horsse litters/ who lighted at the west doore w^t all this 15
trayn accompaned w^t many other noble men & gentilmen
besides hir gard w^{ch}e was not small in nomber/ than w^t in ij
howeres after the kyng came in to the town w^t a great shott of
Gonnys/ And dyuers paiauntes made for the nons at the kynges
(byen venewe) hauyng abought his person bothe byfore hym and 20
byhynd hym/ beside the wonderfull nomber of nobyll men &
gentilmen iij^{re} great Gardes dyuersly apparelled/ the first was of
Souches and Burgonyons/ w^t Gonnes & halfe hakkes/ The
second was of ffrenche men some w^t bowes and Arrowes/ and
some w^t bylles/ The iij^{de} Gard was pur le corps w^{ch}e was of tall 25
Scottes myche moore comlier persons than all the rest/ The
ffrenche gard & the Scottes had all oon lyuere w^{ch}e ware riche
Coottes of fynne wyght clothe w^t a gard of Syluer bullyons
enbrodred an handfull brode/ [f. 29] The kyng Came Ridyng
vpon a goodly Genett/ And lighted at the west doore of the 30
sayd Chirche and so conveyed in to the Chirche vppe to the
highe Aulter where he made his prayers vpon his knees And
than conveyed in to the bysshoppes palleyes where he was
lodged and also his mother/ The next mornyng I roode agayn to
Pynkney to attend vpon my lord at w^{ch}e tyme my lord was 35
redy to take hys mule towardes Amyens/ And passyng on his

9 Royall canc. after came 12 first or] written over & 21 men interl.
23 hakkes/ The] MS. hakkes The 28 syluer canc. before a 34 Pyk
canc. after to

Journey thetherward he was encontered frome place to place
 w^t dyuers noble & worthy personages makynge to hym dyuers
 oracions in latten/ to whome he made answeres agayn ex tempore/
 At whos excellent learnyng & pregnant witt they wondred very
 5 myche///

Than was word brought my lord that the kyng was commyng
 to encounter hym/ w^t that he hauyng none other shifte
 was compelled to allyght in an old Chappell (that stode by
 the highe way) and there newly apparelled hym in to more

10 Richer apparell/ And than mounted vpon a newe Mewle very
 richely trapped w^t a foote clothe & trapper of Crymmesyn
 veluett vpon veluett pirld w^t gold and ffrynged abought w^t a
 depe frynge of gold very costly his stirropes of siluer and gylt
 the bosses & chekes of his brydell of the same/ And be that tyme

15 that he was mounted agayn after this most gorgious sort/ the
 kyng was come very nere/ w^t in lesse than a quarter of a myle
 englysshe/ mustryng vpon an hill side his gard standyng in a
 ray along the same/ expectyng my lordes Commyng/ To whome
 my lord made as myche hast as convenientlyt it became hym

20 vntill he came w^t in a payer of butt lengthes/ And there he
 stayed a whyle/ the kyng perceyvyng that stode still & hauyng
 ij worthy gentilmen yong & lusty beyng bothe brethern and
 brethern to the Duke of lorrain & to the Cardynall of lorrain/
 wheroft oon of theme was called monsur de Gwees and thother

25 monsur Vademount/ they ware bothe apparelled lyke the kyng
 in [f. 29v] Purpull veluett lyned w^t clothe of Syluer and ther
 Cottes cutt/ the kyng caused mounsur vademount to issue
 frome hym And to ride vnto my lord to knowe the cause of his
 tractyng who roode vpon a fayer Courser takyng his race in a

30 full gallope evyn vntill he came vnto my lord And there cawsed
 his horsse to come a loft oons or twyse so nyne my lordes mewle
 that he was in dowght of his horsse/ And w^t that he lighted
 frome his Courser And doyng his message to my lord w^t
 humble reuerence/ w^{ch}e don he mounted agayn And caused his

35 horsse to do the same at his departyng As he did byfore And so
 repayed agayn to the kyng/ And after his answeres made/ the

11 two indecipherable letters canc. before trapped; Crymmesyn MS. Crymmesyn

15 sort canc. before sort 16 w^t interl. 21 t canc. after that

27 ca canc. before caused 36 endyd canc. before made; made interl.

kyng auaunced forward/ that seyng my lord did the lyke/ And
 in the mydway they mett embracyng eche other on horsbake w^t
 most amyable countenaunce entertaynyng eche other right
 nobly/ then drewe in to the place all noble men & gentilmen on
 bothe sides w^t wonderfull chere made oon to an other as they 5
 had byn of an old acquaytaunce/ the prece was suche and
 thyke that dyuers had ther legges hurt w^t horsysse/ Than the
 kynges officers cried/ marche/ marche devaunt/ Ale devaunt/
 And the kyng & my lord Cardynall (on his right hand) Roode
 together to Amyens euery Englysshe gentilman accompanyd 10
 w^t an other of ffraunce/ The trayn of ffrenche & Englysshe
 endured ij long myles/ that is to sey/ frome the place of ther
 encounter vnto Amyens/ where they ware very nobly receyved
 w^t shott of Gonnes and Costly paiauntes vntill the kyng had
 brought my lord to his logyng and there departed a sonder for 15
 that nyght/ the kyng beyng lodged in the bysshoppes palice/ The
 next day after dynner my lord w^t a great trayn of noble men &
 gentillmen of Englond rode vnto the kynges Court at w^{ch}e tyme
 the kyng kept his bed beyng somwhat disseased/ yet not-
 w^tstandyng my lord came in to his bed Chamber/ where satt on 20
 theon side of his bed his mother madam Regent/ And on thother
 sid the Cardynall of lorrain w^t dyuers other noblemen of
 ffraunce/ And after a short commynycacion and drynkynge of a
 Cuppe of wyn w^t the kynges mother/ my lord departed agayn
 to hys lodgyng accompanyd w^t dyuers gentilmen & noble men 25
 of ffraunce who supped w^t hym/ Thus contynued the kyng & my
 lord in Amyens the space of ij wekes & more consultyng &
 feastyng eche other dyuers tymes [f. 30] And in the feast of the
 Assumpcion of our ladye my lord Roose betymes & went to the
 Cathederall chirche/ de noster dame/ and there byfore my lady 30
 regent and the quen of Naver in our lady chappell he sayd his
 seruyce & masse and after masse he hymself mynstred the
 Sacremente vnto bothe my lady Regent & to the quene of Naver/
 And that don the kyng resortyd vnto the chirche and was

3 entennynge *canc.* before entertaynyng; entertaynyng *interl.* 6 acquayntaunce] *MS.* acquaytaunce 7 horsysse/ Than] *MS.* horsysse Than
 9 hade *canc.* before hand 13 Amyens] *s written over ce* 18 rode *interl.*
 19 somewhat diseased *interl.*; syke *canc.* before / yet 23 ffraunce]
MS. ffraunce 28 dyuers] *MS.* dyuer 32 hymself *interl.*

conveyed in to a riche Travers At the highe Aulters end and
 dyrectly ayenst hym on the other side of the Aulter sat my lord
 Cardynall in an other Riche trauers ij^{re} gresis hyer than the
 kynges And At the auuter byfore theme bothe a bysshope sang
 5 hye masse And at the fraccion of the host the same bysshope
 devyded the Sacramet bytwen the kyng and the Cardynall for
 the performance of the peace concludyd bytwen theme/ w^{ch}e
 masse was song solomponly by the kynges Chappell hauyng
 among theme Cornettes and Sakbuttes And after masse was
 10 don the Troppeters blewe in the Roodeloft vntill the kyng was
 past inward to his lodgyng owt of the chirche And at his
 commyng in to the bysshoppes palice where he entendyd to dyne
 w^t my lord Cardynall/ there satt w^t in a Closter abought ij^c
 parsons deseased w^t the kynges evyll (vpon ther knces) And
 15 the kyng or euer he went to dynner pervsed euery of theme w^t
 robbing and blessing them w^t his bare handes beyng barehedyd
 all the while/ after whome folowed his Almosyner distributyng of
 mony vnto the persons disseased/ & that done he sayd certyn
 prayers ouer theme and than whasht his handes & so came vppe
 20 into his Chamber to dynner/ where as my lord dyned w^t hym///
Than yt was determyned that the kyng and my lord shold
 remove owt of Amyens/ And so they did to a towne or Citie
 called Compygne w^{ch}e was more than xx^{ti} Englisshe myles
 frome thence/ vnto w^{ch}e towen I was sent to prepare my lordes
 25 lodgyng/ And so as I rode on my Iourney beyng vpon a ffriday
 my horse chaunced to cast a shoo in a littill village where stode
 a fayer Castell/ and as it chaunced ther dwelte a smythe to
 whome I commaundyd my seruaunt to carry my horsse to shoo
 and standyng by hym while my horsse was a shoyng there
 30 came to me [f. 30v] oon of the seruautes of the Castell per-
 ceyvyng me to be the Cardynalles seruaunt and an Englysheman/
 who requyred me to goo w^t hym in to the Castell to my lord
 his m^r/ whome he thought wold be very glad of my commyng

2 ayenst interl.; byfore canc. before hymne 3 Cardynall] final 1
frayed away at edge of page 8 Chapley canc. before Chappell; have
 canc. after Chappell; hauyng interl. 11 h canc. before lodgyng 13 second w^t
 interl. 14 deseas canc. before deseased 16 ha canc. before
 bare 18 disseased interl.; disseased canc. after disseased 25 lodgeng
 canc. before lodgyng 27 where in dwelt with in interl. canc.
 before and

& company/ to whose request I grauntyd by cause that I was
allwayes desirous to se and be acquaynted w^t strayngers
inespecyall w^t men in honour and Auctorytie/ So I went w^t hymē/
who conducted me vnto the Castell And beyng entred in the
first ward/ the watchemen of that ward beyng very honest tall 5
men came & saluted me most reuerently/ And knowyng the
cause of my commyng/ desired me to stay a littill while vntill they
had aduertised my lord ther m^r/ of my beyng there/ And so I
dyd/ And incontynent the lord of the Castell came owt to me/
who was called monsur Creekey a noble man borne and very 10
nyghe of bloode to kyng lowice the last kyng that raygned byfore
this kyng ffrances/ And at his first commyng he embrased me/
Sayeng that I was right hartely welcome/ And thanked me that
I so gently wold visit hymē & his Castell/ sayeng furthermore
that he was preparyng to encounter the kyng & my lord to deser 15
them most humbly the next day to take his castell in the way/ if
he could so entret theme And trewe it is that he was redy to ride
in a Coote of veluett w^t a payer of veluett Armyng shoos on his
feete and a payer of gilt sporres on his heles/ Than he toke me
by the hand and most gentlye led me in to his Castell thorough 20
an other ward/ And beyng oons entred in to the base Court of the
Castell I sawe all his ffamely and howshold seruautes standyng
in goodly order in blake Cootes and Gownnes lyke morners
who led me in to the hall w^{chē} was hanged w^t handgonnes as
thyke as oon cowld hang by an other vpon the walles/ And in 25
the hall stode also an haukes perke wheron stode iij^{re} or iiiij^{or}
fayer goshalkes/ than went we in to the parlour w^{chē} was hanged
w^t fynde old Arras/ And beyng there but a while commonyng
together of my lorde of Suffolk howe he was there to haue
beseged the same/ his seruautes brought to hymē brede & wynne 30
of dyuers sortes/ wherof he caused me to drynke/ And after/ q^d
he/ I will shewe you the strengthe of my howsse howe herd it
wold haue byn for my lord of Suffolk to haue wonne it/ than
led he me vpon [f. 31] the walles w^{chē} was very strong more
than xv^{en} foote thyke/ And as well garnysshed w^t batere peces 35

1 company/ to] M.S. company to
So 11 of canc. before nyghe; of interl.; the canc. after of
after is; was canc. before that
after after 35 as interl.

3 Auctorytie/ So] M.S. Auctorytie
17 he canc.
31 sortes canc. before sortes; he canc.

of ordynaunce redy charged to shoot of/ ayenst the kyng
 and my lordes Commyng/ whan he had shewed me all the
 walles & bulwarkes Abought the Castell/ he dissendyd frome the
 walles and came down in to a fayer Inner Court where his Genyt
 5 stooode for to mount vpon w^t xijth other Genettes the most
 fayrest bestes that euer I sawe/ And in especyall his owen w^{ch}e
 was a mare genett/ he shewed me that he myght haue had for hir
 iiij^c Crownnes/ but vpon the other xijth genettes ware mounted
 xij goodly yong gentilmen called pages of honor all bare hedyd
 10 in Coottes of Clothe of gold & blake veluett clokked and on ther
 legges bootes of red Spaynysshe lether And spurres parcell
 gylt/ Then he toke his leave of me commaundynge his Steward
 & other his gentilmen to attend vpon me/ And conducte me
 vnto my lady his wyfe to dynner/ And that don he mounted
 15 vpon his genett/ And toke his Iourney forthe owt of his
 castell And than the Steward w^t the rest of the gentilmen led me
 vppe in to a tower in the gathowsse where than my lady ther
 mastresse lay for the tyme that the kyng & my lord shold tary
 there/ I beyng in A fayer great dynyng chamber where the table
 20 was Couered to dynner/ And there I attendieng my lades
 Commyng/ And after she came thether owt of hir owen chamber
 she receyved me most gently lyke an noble estate hauyng a
 trayn of xij gentilwomen/ And whan she w^t hir trayn came all
 owt/ she sayd to me/ ffor as myche/ q^d she/ as ye be an Englysshe
 25 man whos Custume^t is in yo^r Contrie to kys all ladyes and
 gentilwomen w^tout offence/ And althoughe it be not so here in
 this Realme/ yet woll I be so bold to kys you & so shall all my
 maydens/ by means wherof I kyst my lady & all hir women/ then
 went she to hir dynner beyng as nobly serued/ as I haue seen
 30 any of hir estat here in Englond/ hauyng all the dynner tyme
 w^t me pleasaunt commynycacion w^{ch}e was of the vsage &
 behauour of our gentilwomen & gentilmen of Englond/ And
 comendyd myche the behauour of them right [f. 31^v] ex-
 cellently/ ffor she was w^t the kyng at Arde when the great
 35 encounter & meatyng was betwen the ffrenche kyng & the kyng

6 bestes canc. before bestes

canc. before thether

17 to canc. before to

canc. before interl.

21 owt

Cu canc. before Custume^t

23 came interl.

27 real canc. before Realme; do canc. before all

canc. before pleasant

25 wherof interl.

32 of canc. before &

31 ple

34 A canc. before Arde

our souerayn lord at w^{ch}e tyme she was bothe for hir person & goodly hauour appoynted to company w^t the ladys of Englond/
And to be short after dynner/ pausyng a littill I toke my leave
of hir & so departed & roode on my Journey//

I passyd so forthe/ on my Journey/ by reason of my tractyng of 5
tyme in Chastell de Crykkey that I was constrainyd that nyght
to lye in a town by the way called Montdedyer/ the Suburbes
wheroft my lord of Suffolk hadde lately burnd/ And in the next
mornynge I toke my Journey and came to Compign vpon the
Saturday than beyng there the markett day/ And at my first 10
Commyng I toke my Inne in the myddes of the market place
and beyng there sett at dynner in a fayer Chamber that had a
fayer wyndowe lokyng in to the streett I hard a great Rumour
and clatteringyng of bylles/ w^t that I loked owt in to the strett/ And
there I espied where the officers of the town brought a prysoner 15
to execucion/ whos hed they strak of w^t a sword/ And whan I
demaunded the cause of his offence/ yt was answered me/ that
it was for kylling of a rede dere in the fforrest thereby the
punyshement wheroft is but deathe/ Incontynent they had sett
vppe the poore mans hed vpon a pole in the markett place 20
bytwen the stagges hornes/ and his quarters in iiiij^{or} partes of the
fforrest/ Than went I abought to prepare my lordes lodgynge &
to se it furnysshed w^{ch}e was there in the great Castell of the
town/ wheroft to my lord was assigned theon halfe and thether
half was reserued for the kyng/ and in lyke wyse there was a long 25
Gallery devyded bytwen theme/ wherin was made in the
myddes therof a strong wall w^t a doore & wyndowe/ And there
the kyng & my lord wold many tymes mete at the same wyndowe
and secretly talke togethers & dyuers tymes they wold goo
theon to the tother at the seyd doore/ Nowe was there lodged 30
also madame Regent the kynges mother and all hir trayn of
ladys & gentillwomen/ vnto w^{ch}e place the Chauncelor of
ffraunce came (a very witty man) w^t all the kynges grave

6 my canc. before tyme; that interl. before I 7 to lye interl. 9 mornynge
interl. 10 than interl.; the interl.; than canc. before markett 11 n canc.
after my 13 Ret . . . or canc. after great 17 demaunded] M.S. demaund; ar canc. before answered 21 hed canc. after stagges
27 therof canc. before therof 28 secretly canc. before mete 29 take
canc. before secretly; wold interl. 30 a single indecipherable letter canc.
before the tother 31 also canc. before also

councellers/ who toke great paynnes dayly in Consultacion/ In so myche as I hard my lord Cardynall fall owt w^t the Chauncelor layeng vnto his charge that he went abought [f. 32] to hynder the leage w^ehe my sayd lord Cardynall hade byfore his commyng
 5 concludyd bytwen the king our souerayn lord & the frenche kyng his m^r In so myche that my lord stomaked the matter very stoutly/ And told hym that it shold not lie in his power to dissolute the amyable fidelitie bytwen them/ And if his mayster the kyng beyng there present forsake his promyse & followe his
 10 Councell he shold not fayle/ after his retourne in to Englond/ to feale the smarte/ and what a thyng it is to breake promys w^t the kyng of Englond/ wheroft he shold be well assured/ and ther w^t all he arose & went in to his owen lodgyng wondersly offendyd/ So that his stowte Countenaunce and bold wordes made them all
 15 in dowght howe to pacyefie hys despleasure & revoke hym agayn to the Councell who was then departyd in a furye/ there was sendyng/ there was commyng/ there was also entreatyng/ And there was great submyssion made to hym to reduce hym to his former frendly commynycacion/ who wold in no wyse
 20 relent/ vntill madame Regent came hir self/ who handelled the matter so discretly & wittely that she reconsild hym to his former commynycacion/ And by that means he brought ther matters to passe that byfore he cowld not atteyne nor cause the Councell to graunt/ w^ehe was more for feare than for any
 25 affecion to the matter/ he hade the hedes of all the Councell so vnder his gyrdell that he myght ruell them all there as well as he myght the Councell of Englond/ the next mornynge after this conflycte he roose earely in the mornynge abought iiiij^{or} of the Clocke/ sytting down to wright letters in to England vnto the
 30 kyng commaundyg oon of his Chapleyns to prepare hym to masse/ in so myche that his seyd chapleyn stode reuested vntill iiiij^{or} of the Clocke at after none/ All w^ehe season my lorde neuer roose oons to pis/ ne yet to eate any meate but contynually wrott his letters w^t his owen handes/ hauyng all that tyme his nyght

4 hade byfore] MS. hade/ byfore 10-11 to *interl.* before feale 11 and *interl.* 17 was commyng] MS. was/ commyng; was also *interl.*
 18 first hyme *interl.* 19 hys *canc.* before his 23 vi *canc.* before nor
 31 er *canc.* between the u and e of reuested 33 contynually] MS.
 contynally

Cappe & keuerchefe on his hed/ And abought iiij^{or} of the Clocke
 at after none he made an end of writyng Commaundyng oon
 Cristofer Gonner the kynges seruaunt to prepare hym w^tout
 delay to ride empot in to Englond w^t his letters/ whome he
 dispeched a way or euer he [f. 32v] dranke/ And that don he went 5
 to masse/ and sayd his other dyvyn seruyce w^t his Chappelleyne
 as he was accustumed to do/ and than went strayt in to a garden/
 and after he had walked the space of an hower or more And
 there sayed his evyn song/ he went to dynner & Sopper all at
 oons/ And makyng a small repast/ he went to his bed to take his 10
 rest for that nyght/ The next nyght folowyng he caused a great
 Supper to be provyded for madame Regent and the quen of
 Naverne and other great estates of ladyes & noble women/ there
 was also madam Reigne/ oon of the doughters of kyng lewyce
 whos Syster kyng ffaunces had maried (latly deade) thes sisters 15
 ware by ther mother enheritrices of the duchye of Bryttayn/
 And for as myche as the kyng had maried oon of the Systers by
 whome he had the moytie of the sayd Duchie And to attayn
 thother moytie/ And to be lord of the hole/ he kepte the sayd
 lady Reygnye w^tout mariage entendyng that she hauyng non 20
 Issue that the hole duchye myght dissend to hym or to his
 succession after hir deathe for want of yssue of hir body/ But
 nowe lett vs retorne agayn to the Supper or rather a Solompne
 bankett/ where all thes nobyll persons ware hyghly feasted/ And
 in the myddes of ther tryhumphe the frenche kyng w^t the kyng 25
 of Naverne came sodenly in vppon them onknowen/ who toke
 ther places at the nether end of the table/ there was not oonly
 plenty of ffynne meates/ but also myche myrthe and Solace/ as
 well in commynycacion as in instrumentes of musyke setforthe
 w^t my lordes mynstrelles/ who played there so Connyngly & 30
 dulce all that nyght that the kyng toke therin great pleasure/ In
 so myche that he desired my lord to lend theme vnto hym the
 next nyght/ And after Supper & bankett ffynysshed the ladys &
 gentilwomen went to dauncyng/ Among whome oon madame
 flountayn a mayd had the price/ And thus passed they the nyght 35

7 to d canc. before in
 ladies; women/ there] MS. women there
 19 so canc. before to
 28 plenty interl.

12 be interl.
 21 that interl.

13 noble canc. before
 kyng canc. before whos
 24 feasted] MS. feaster

in plesaunt myrthe & Ioye/ the next day the kyng toke my lordes mynstrelles and Roode vnto a noble mans howsse where was some goodly Image that he had avowed a Pilgrymage vnto/ to performe his devocion whan he came there he daunced & 5 other w^t hym the most part of that nyght my lordes mynstrelles played there so excellently all that nyght that the Shalme (whether it ware w^t extreme labor of blowyng or w^t poysonyng (as some Iuged) by cause they ware more commendyd & accepted w^t the kyng than his owen) I cannot tell but he that 10 played the Shalme (an excellent man in that art) died w^t in a day or twayn after [f. 33]

Then the kyng Retorned agayn vnto Compigne/ And caused a wyld boore to be lodgyd for hym in the fforrest/ there whether my lord Roode w^t the kyng to the huntyng of the wyld Swyne 15 w^tin a Toyle where the lady Regent stode in Charyottes or waggans lokyng ouer the toylle on the owtyside therof accompanyd w^t many ladyes & dameselles/ among whome my lord stode by the lady Regent to regard & behold the pastyme/ & maner of huntyng/ there was w^tin the toyle dyuers goodly 20 gentillmen w^t the kyng redy garnysshed to this hyghe enterprise and dayngerous huntyng of the perellous wylld Swyne/ the kyng beyng in his dublett & hosyn oonly w^tout any other garmetes all of shepes Colour clothe his hosyn frome the kne vppward was altogether thrommed w^t sylke very thyke of the 25 same Colour havyng in a slipe a fayer brace of grette wyheight greyhoundes Armed as the maner is to arme ther greyhoundes frome the violence of the boores tuskes/ And all the rest of the kynges gentilmen beyng appoyncted to hunt this boore ware lykewyse in ther dublettes & hosyn holdyng eche of them in ther 30 handes a very sharpe boores spere/ the kyng beyng thus furnesshed commaunded the hentes to oncouche the boore/ And that euery other person shold goo to a standyng/ among whome ware dyuers gentilmen & yomen of Englond/ And incontynent the boore issued owt of his denne/ chaced w^t an hound in to the 35 playn/ And beyng there/ stalled a while gasyng vpon the

3 some *interl.*; some *canc.* after avowed; a *interl.*

devocion; vowed *canc.* before whan

nyght that

33 England/ And] MS. England And

4 he *canc.* after

6 he *interl.* and *canc.* after

7 poysonyng *canc.* after or

27 k *canc.* after rest of

people/ And incontynent/ beyng forced by the hound he espied
a littill busse standyng vpon a banke ouer a diche vnder the
w^{ch}e lay ij gentilmen of ffraunce/ And thether fled the boore to
defend hym thrustyng his hede snoffyng in to the same bushe
where thes ij gentilmen lay/ who fled w^t suche spedē as men do 5
frome the daynger of deathe/ Than was the boore by violence &
pursewt of the hound & huntē dryvyn frome thence And ran
stray to oon of my lordes footmen a very comly person & an
hardy who hild in his hand an Englysshē Iavelen w^t the w^{ch}e he
was fayn to defend hymself frome the fierce assault of the 10
boore/ who foyned at hym contynually w^t his great tuskes/
wherby he was compelled at the last to pytche his Iavelen/ [f. 33v]
in the Grownd bytwen hym & the boore/ the w^{ch}e the boore
breke w^t his force of foynyng/ And w^t that the yoman drewe his
sword And stode at defence/ And w^t that the huntē came to the 15
rescue/ And put hym oons agayn to flight/ w^t that he fled & ran
to an other yong gentylman of England Called m^r Ratclyfe
Sonne & heyer to the lord ffitzwalter and after Erle of Sussex/
who by chaunce had borowed of a ffrenche gentilman a fynne
boore spere very sharpe/ vpon whome (the boore beyng sore 20
chaffed) began to assault very egerly/ And the yong gentilman
delyuerly Avoyded his strokkes and in tornyng abought/ he
stroke the boore w^t suche violence w^t the same speere (that he
had borowed) vpon the howghes/ that he cutt the Senowes of
bothe his legges at oon stroke that the boore was constrainyd to 25
sitt down vpon his haunches and defend hym self for he
cowld goo no more/ thys gentilman perceyvyng than his most
aduaantage/ thrust his speere in to the boore vnder the sholder
vppe to the hart/ And thus he slewe the great boore/
wherfore among the noble men of ffraunce it was reputed to be 30
oon of the noblest enterprices that a man myght do/ (As
thoughe he had slain a man of Armez)/ And thus our m^r
Ratclyfe bare than a way the price of that feakte of huntyng this
dayngerous & Royall pastyme in kylling of the wyld boore/
whoos tuskes the ffrenche men dothe most comenly dowght 35

2 littill interl.
before comly
24 be canc. after cutt
than

6 deathe/ Than] MS. deathe Than
11 .rul canc. before great
30 it was reputed interl.
34 h canc. before pastyme

8 co canc.
13 bo canc. after & the
33 t canc. before

above all other dayngers as it semed to vs englyshe men than
beyng present/

In thys tyme of my lordes beyng in ffrance ouer & besides
his noble entertaynment w^t the kyng & nobles/ he susteyned
5 dyuers displeasures of the frenche slaves/ that devised a certyn
boke w^{ch}e was setforthe in dyuers articles vpon the causis of my
lordes beyng there/ w^{ch}e shold be as they surmised/ that my
lord was come thether to conclude too mariages/ theon bytwen
the kyng our souerayn lord And madame Reygne of whome I
10 spake hertofore/ And an other bytwen the prynces than of
England (Nowe beyng quene of this reallme my lady marye/ the
kynges daughter/) And the frenche kynges second Sonne the
duke of Orlyaunce who ys at this present kyng [f. 34] of ffrance/
w^t dyuers other conclusions and agrementes touchyng the same/
15 of thes bokes many ware Imprynted & conveyed in to Englonde
vnknowen to my lord beyng than in fraunce/ to the great
slander of the Realme of Englonde & of my lord Cardynall/
but whether they ware devysed of pollecy to pacifie the mut-
teryng of the people w^{ch}e had dyuers Commynycacions and
20 Imagynacions of my lordes beyng there/ or whether it ware
devysed of some malicious person as the disposicion of the
Comen people are accustumed to do vpon suche secrett
consultacions I knowe not/ but what so euer the occasion or cause
was the Auctor hathe settforthe suche bokes/ this I ame well
25 assured that after my lord was therof aduertised/ And had
pervsed oon of the same bokes/ he was not a littill offendyd/ And
assembled all the pryye Councell of ffrance together to
whome he spake hys mynd thus/ sayeng that it was not oonly a
suspecyon in them but also a great rebuke and a diffamacion to
30 the kynges honour to se & knowe any suche sedicius ontrewthe
opynly devouged and setforthe by any malicious & subtyll
traytor of this Realme/ sayeng furthermore that if the lyke had
byn attempted w^tin the realme of Englonde he doughted not but
to se it punysshed accordyng to the trayterous demeanour &
35 deserthes/ Notw^tstandyng I sawe but small redresse/ So this was

4 entertaynment] MS. entertainment

interl. 9 lord canc. after souerayn

15 ware interl. 16 beyng] MS. byng

Realme 22-23 C canc. before consultacions

8 p peace canc. before too; too

10 than interl. 11 Nowe interl.

17 / & to canc. after

28 it] t written over s

oon of the displeasures that the frenche men shewed hym for
all his paynnes and travell that he toke for qualefieng of ther
kynges Raumsome/ **Allso another** displeasure was this/ there
was no place where he was lodged after he entred the terretorye
of ffraunce but that he was robbed in his privye chamber other 5
of oon thynge or other/ And at Compigne he lost his standysshe
of Syluer & gylt/ And there it was espied & the partie taken
w^{ch}e was but a littill boy of xijth or xij^{en} yere of age a ruffians
page of Paris w^{ch}e haunted my lordes lodgyng w^tout any sus-
picion vntill he was taken lyeng vnder my lordes privye stayers/ 10
vpon w^{ch}e occasion he was apprehendyd and examyned And
incontynent confessed all thynges that was myst w^{ch}e he stale
and brought to his m^r the ruffian who receyved the same &
procured [f. 34v] hym so to do/ After the spyall of thys boye/
my lord revelled the same vnto the Councell/ by means wherof 15
the Ruffian/ the boys master was apprehendyd/ and set on the
pillorye/ in the myddest of the markett place (A goodly recom-
pence for suche an haynous offence) Also an other displeasure
was/ Some lewd person (who so euer it was) had engraved in
the great Chamber wyndowe where my lord lay vpon the 20
leanyng stone there a Cardynalles hatte w^t a payer of Galhowsse
ouer it in derision of my lord w^t dyuers other onkynd
deemeanors/ the w^{ch}e I leave heare to wright they be matters so
slanderous//

Thus/ passyng dyuers dayes in consultacion expecting the 25
retourne of Crystopher Gunner w^{ch}e was sent in to Englond w^t
letters vnto the kyng as it is rehersed hertofore by empot/ who
at last retorne agayn w^t other letters/ vpon receypt wherof my
lord Cardynall mad hast to retorne in to Englond/ In the
mornynge that my lord shold depart And remove beyng than at 30
masse in his Closett he consecrated the Chauncelour of ffraunce
A Cardynall And put vpon hym the habyt dewe to that order/
And than toke his Iourney in to Englond ward makyng suche
necessary expedycion that he came to Gwynnes where he was
nobley receyved of my lord Sandes Capteyn there w^t all the 35

8 age] MS. ages
over v
final s
nobley

13 it canc. before to
30 lord interl.
33 than] n written over t

16 on] o written
31 masse] sse written over a single

35 receyved canc. after

retynewe therof/ And frome thence he roode to Calice/ where he
 taried the shyppynge of his stiffe, horsses, & trayn And in the
 mean tyme he establisshed there a marte to be kept for all
 nacions (but howe long indewred and in what sort it was vsed
 5 I knowe not) for I neuer hard of any great good that it dide/ or
 of any worthie assemble there of marchauntes or marchantdice/
 that was brought thether for the furnyture of so waytie a matter/
 Thes thynges fynysshed and others for the weale of the town/
 he toke shippynge And Arryved at Douer/ ffrome wence he
 10 roode to the kyng (beyng than in his progresse at sir harre
 wyates howsse in kent) supposyd among vs his seruauntes that
 he shold be Ioyfully receyved at his home Commynge as well of
 the kyng as of all other noble men but we ware dissayved in our
 expectacion/ notw^tstandyng he went Immedyatly after his Com-
 15 myng to the kyng wt whome he had long talke and contynued
 there in the Court ij or iij^{re} dayes and than retorneed to hys
 howsse at Westminster where he remayned [f. 35] vntill
 myhelmas terme w^{ch}e was wt in a fourthnyght after/ And vsyng
 his Rome of Chauncellorshipe as he was wont to do/ At w^{ch}e
 20 tyme he caused an assemble to be made in the starre Chamber
 of all the noble men, Iuges, and Iustices of the peace of euery
 shere that was at that present in westminster hall/ And there
 made to theme a long Oracion declaryng vnto them the cause of
 his ambassett in to ffraunce And of his procedynges there/
 25 Among the w^{ch}e he sayd that he had concludyd suche an
 amytie And ffrendshippe as neuer was hard of in this Realme in
 our tyme byfore/ As well bytwen the Emprour and vs as bytwen
 the ffrenche kyng and our souerayn lord concludyng a perpetuall
 peace w^{ch}e shall be confirmed in writyng alternatly sealed wt the
 30 broode seales of bothe the Realmes graved in fynne gold/
 Affirmynge ferthermore that the kyng shold receyve yerely his
 tribute (by that name) for the Duchye of Normandye wt all

1 therof *interl.*; there *canc.* after therof
stuffynge of *canc.* before stiffe; horsses] h written over v
before there 8 weale of *canc.* before weale

before Douer; wence] final e written over s 14 expectacion/] MS.
expectacion 18 in *interl.* 19 do/ At] MS. do At 20 an
canc. before an; an *interl.* 21 of *interl.* before all 26 a single
indecipherable letter canc. before hard 31 after canc. before ferthermore;
that the kyng *canc.* before shold; shold] MS. shield

2 shyppynge of his *interl.*; 6 therof *canc.*

9 dower *canc.*

14 expectacion/] MS.

18 in *interl.* 19 do/ At] MS. do At 20 an

canc. before an; an *interl.* 21 of *interl.* before all 26 a single

indecipherable letter canc. before hard 31 after canc. before ferthermore;

that the kyng *canc.* before shold; shold] MS. shield

other costes w^{ch}e he hathe susteyned in the warres And where there was a restraynt made in fraunce of the ffrenche quens dower (whome the Duke of Suffolk had maried) for dyuers yeres/ dewryng the warres/ yt ys fully concludyd that she shall not oonly receyve the same yerely agayn but also the arrerages 5
 beyng onpayed duryng the restraynt/ All w^{ch}e thynges shold be perfected at the commyng of the great ambassett owt of ffrance/ in the w^{ch}e shalbe a great nomber of noble men and gentilmen for the conclusion of the same/ as hathe not byn seen repayer hether owt of oon Realme in an Ambassett/ This peace thus 10
 concludyd there shalbe suche an Amytie bytwen gentilmen of eche realme/ And entercourse of marchauntes w^t marchandyse, that it shall seme to all men the terretorys to be but oon monarcke/ Gentillmen may travell quyotly frome oon contrie to an other for ther recreacion and pastyme/ And marchauntes 15
 beyng arryved in eche contrie shalbe assured to travell abought ther affayers in peace & tranquylite So that this Realme shall Ioy & prospere for euer/ wherfore it shalbe well don for all trewe Englisshemen to auaunce & setforthe this perpetuall peace/ bothe in Countenaunce & gesture w^t suche entertainm^t 20
 as it may be a Iust occasion vnto the ffrenche men to accept the same in good part/ And also to vse you w^t the semblable/ And make of the same an noble report in ther contries [f. 35v] Nowe good my lordes & gentilmen/ I most entierly requyer you in the kynges behalfe that ye wyll shewe yo^r selfes herin very loyng & 25
 obedyent subiectes wher in the kyng woll myche reioyce yo^r towardnes and geve to euery man his pryncely thankes for suche liberalitie & gentilnes as ye or any of you shall mynester/ vnto theme/ And here he endyd his perswacion and so departyd in to the dynyng chamber there and dyned among the lordes of the 30
 Councell///

Thys greate ambassett/ long loked for was nowe come ouer w^{ch}e ware in nomber above iiij^{xx} persons of the most noblest & worthiest gentilmen in all the Court of ffrance/ who ware right honorably receyved frome place to place after ther 35

1 costes interl.

at; at interl.

29 Oracio canc. before perswacion

31 Co canc. before Councell

2 fraunce] MS. frraunce

10 thus interl.

30 the canc. before the dynyng

7 i. canc. before

14 men of Gentillmen interl.

31 Co canc. before Councell

arryvall/ And so conveyed thorough london vnto the bysshoppes
 palice in powlles chirche yerd/ where they ware lodged/ To
 whome dyuers noble men resortyd/ And gave theme dyuers
 goodly presentes/ And in especyall the mayer & Citie of london/
 5 As wyne, Suger, waxe, Capons, wyldfowle, bcafes, mottons, and
 other necessaries in great abounding for the expences of ther
 howsse/ Then the next Sonday after ther resort to london they
 repayed to the Court at Grenwyche/ And there by the kynges
 ma^{tie} most highly receyved & entartayned/ they had a specyall
 10 commyssion to creat & stalle the kynges ma^{tie} in the Royall
 order of ffraunce/ ffor w^{ch}e purposelē they brought w^t theme a
 Colour of fyne gold of the order w^t a myhell hankyngh ther at and
 Robbes to the same appurtenaunt the w^{ch}e was wonderous
 costly & comly of purpull velvet richely embrodered/ I sawe the
 15 kyng in all this apparell & habytt passyng thorough the chamber
 of presence vnto his Closett & offered in the same habytt at
 masse benethe in the Chappell/ And to gratefie the ffrenche kyng
 w^t lyke honour sent incontynent vnto the frenche kyng the lyke
 order of Englund by an noble man (the Erle of wyltshire)
 20 purposly for that entent to Creat hym oon of the same order
 of England/ accompaned w^t Garter the harold/ w^t all robys Garter
 & other abyllmentes to the same belongeng as Costly in euery
 degree as thother was of the ffrenche kynges the w^{ch}e was don
 byfore the retourne of the great ambassett and for the perform-
 25 aunce of this noble & perpetuall peace/ it was concludyd & deter-
 myned that a Solompne masse shold be song in the Cathederal
 chirche of powlles by the Cardynall/ ayenst w^{ch}e tyme there was
 prepared a Gallerye [f. 36] made frome the west doore of the
 Chirche of powlles vnto the quyer doore Raylled on euery syde
 30 vpon the w^{ch}e stode vessels full of Parfeumes bornyng/ Then
 the kyng & my lord Cardynall & all the ffrenche w^t all other
 noble men & gentilmen ware conveyed vpon this Gallerye vnto
 the highe Aulter in to ther trauersys/ than my lord Cardynall
 prepared hymself to masse assocyattē w^t xxiiijth myters of
 35 bysshoppes and Abbottes attendyng vpon hym & to serue

3 the *canc.* after whome

interl.

full] *MS.* stode full; bornyng/ Then]10 kynges] *MS.* kyng20 establysshe *canc.* before Creatfull] *MS.* bornyng Then

13 to

30 stode vessels

hyme in suche ceromynes as to hym (by vertue of his legantyn prerogatyfe) was dewe/ And after the last Agnus the kyng Roose owt of his trauers And kneled vpon a Cusshon & carpett at the highe Aulter/ And the Graund m^r of ffraunce the cheafe Ambassitore that represented the kyng his m^rs person 5 kneled by the kynges mat^{ie}/ bytwen whome my lord devydyd the sacrame^t as a firme oathe & assuraunce of this perpetuall peace/ that don the kyng resortyd agayn vnto his trauers And the graund m^r in lyke wyse to his/ this masse fynysshed (w^{ch}e was song w^t the kynges chapell & the quyer of powles) my lord 10 Cardynall toke the Instrument of this perpetuall peace & amytie And rede the same opynly byfore the kyng and the assemble bothe of Englisshe & frenche/ to the w^{ch}e the kyng subscribed w^t hys owen hand and the Graund m^r for the frenche kyng in lyke wyse/ the w^{ch}e was sealed w^t scales of fynne gold 15 engraven and delyuerd to eche other as ther firme deades/ And all thys don & fynysshed they departed/ the kyng rode home to the Cardynalles howse at westminster to dynner w^t whome dyned all the ffrenche men/ passyng all day after in Consultacion in waytie matters touchyng the conclusion of thys peace & 20 amytie// that don the kyng went agayn by water to Grenw^{ch}e/ at whos departyng it was determyned by the kynges devyse that the ffrenche gentilmen shold resort vnto Richemond to hunt there in euery of the parkes/ And frome thence to hampton Court And there in lyke wyse to hunt/ And there my lord 25 Cardynall to make for theme a Supper & lodge theme there that nyght/ And frome thence they shold ride to wyndesore/ And there to hunt/ And after ther retourne to london they shold resort to the Court where as the kyng wold bankett theme/ And this perfectly determyned the kyng & the frenche departyd/// 30 [f. 36v]

Then was there no moore to do but to make provysion at hampton Court for thys assemble/ ayenst the day appoynted/ my lord called for his pryncypall officers of hys howsse as his

1 hyme interl. before in; (canc. before as 2-3 the kyng interl.
 5 m^rs] MS. m^r; person] MS. persons interl. with final s written over e
 10 ther canc. before of 13 of interl. 14 his canc.
 before w^t 17 in canc. before to; to interl. 18 kyng canc. before
 Cardynalles 19 first all interl. 22 devyse canc. before devyse
 33 t all canc. before thys

steward/ Controller And the Clarkes of his kytchen whome he
 commaundyd to prepare for this bankett at hampton Court And
 nother to spare for expences or travell to make them such
 tryhumphant chere as they may not oonly wonder at hit here
 5 but also make a gloryous report in ther Contrie to the kynges
 honour & of this Realme/ his pleasure oons knownen to accom-
 plisshe his commaundeme^t they sent forthe all ther Cators/
 purveyours & other persons to prepare of the synnest vyandes
 that they cowld gett other for mony or frendshyppe among my
 10 lordes frendes/ Also they sent for all the expertest Cookes
 besydes my lordes that they could gett in all Englond where they
 myght be gotten to serue to garnysshe this feast/ The pur-
 veyours brought and sent In suche plenty of Costly provysion as
 ye wold wonder at the same/ The Cookes wrought bothe nyght
 15 & day in dyuers subtiltes and many crafty devisis/ where lakked
 nother gold, Syluer ne any other costly thyng meate for ther
 purpose/ The yomen And Gromes of the ward Robbes ware
 busied in hangyng of the Chambers w^t costly hangynges And
 furnysshing the same w^t Beddes of sylke and other furnytur
 20 apte for the same in euery degree/ Than my lord Cardynall sent
 me beyng gentilman vssher w^t ij other of my ffellowes to
 hampton Court to fforsee all thynges touchyng our Romes/ to be
 noblēly garnysshed accordyngly/ ower paynnes ware not small
 or lyght/ but travellyng dayly frome Chamber to Chamber/ Than
 25 the Carpenters, the Ioynors, the Masons, the paynters, And all
 other Artificers necessary to glorefie the howsse & feast ware
 sett a worke/ there was cariage & recariage of plate, stufte, and
 other riche Implemetes/ So that there was no thyng lakkynge or
 to be Imagyned or devysed for the purpose/ There was also
 30 xiiij^{xx} beddes providyd and furnysshed w^t all maner of ffurny-
 ture to them belongyng to long particulerly here to reherse/ but
 to all wysmen it suffisithe to Imagyn that knowyth what

4 chere canc. before tryhumphant; hit] h written over y
 canc. before accomplisshe 11 gett interl. 14 same/ The] MS.
 same The 16 meatcanc. after thyng 18 hankcanc. before hangyng
 19 Beddes canc. before Beddes 21 a single indecipherable letter
 canc. before ij 24 light canc. before lyght 27–28 stufte,
 and other] MS. stufte, other 29 purpose canc. before purpose
 32 to all canc. before to all; and canc. before that; that interl.; he canc. before
 knowyth

belongythe to the ffurnytur of such a tryhumphant feast or bankett/// [f. 37]

The day was come/ that to the ffrenchemen was assigned and they redy assembled at hampton Court (some thyng byfore the hower of ther appoynment)/ wherfore the Officers caused them 5 to Ride to hanworthe a place & parke of the kynges w^tin ij or iiij^{re} mylles there to hunt & spend the tyme vntill nyght/ At w^{ch}e tyme they retorne agayn to hampton Court/ And euery of them conveyed to hys Chamber seuerally havyng in them great fiers and wynne redy to refresshe theme remaynyng there 10 vntill ther Supper was redy And the Chambers where they shold suppe ware ordered in dewe forme/ The first waytyng chamber was hanged w^t fynne Arras And so was all the rest oon better than an other furnysshed w^t tale yomen/ there was sett tables round abought the Chamber bankett wyse all couered w^t 15 fynne clothes of dyaper/ A Cup bord w^t plate of parcell gylt/ havyng also in the same chamber to geve the more lyght iiij^{or} plates of syluer sett w^t lightes vppon them/ a great fier in the Chymney/ The next chamber beyng the Chamber of presence hanged w^t very riche arras/ wherin was a gorgious & a precyous 20 clothe of estate hanged vppe/ replenysshed w^t many goodly gentilmen redy to serue/ the bordes ware sett as thother bordes ware in the other chamber byfore/ save that the highe table was sett & removed benethe the clothe of estate towrades the myddes of the chamber couered w^t fynne linnen clothes of dammaske 25 worke swetly perfumed/ there was a Cupboard made (for the tyme) in lengthe of the bredthe of the nether end of the same chamber of vjth deskes highe/ full of gilt plate very somptuous & of the most newest facions/ and vppon the nether most deske garnysshed all w^t plate of clean gold hauyng ij great Candylstykes 30 of syluer & gylt most Curiously wrought the worke manshype wherof w^t the syluer cost iiij^c markes and lightes of waxe as bygge as torches burnyng vppon the same/ this Cupbord was barred in round abought that no man myght come nyghe it/ ffor there

1 therof *canc.* before of; of] MS. /// of; such a tryhumphant] MS. suche tryhumphant 3 that *interl.*; was *interl.* after ffrenchemen 12 wa *interl.* and *canc.* before waytyng; waytyng *interl.* 20 sett *canc.* after was; a *interl.* after & 21 may *canc.* before many 32 cost *canc.* before w^t

was none of the same plate occupied or sterred duryng this feast for ther was sufficient besides// the plattes that hong on the walles to geve lightes in the chamber ware of syluer & gylt w^t lightes burnyng in them and a great fier in the chymney/ And all
 5 other thynges necessary for the furnyture of so noble a feast///
 [f. 37v]

Nowe was all thinges in a redynes and Supper tyme at hand/
 My lordes Officers caused the Truppettes to blowe to warne to
 Supper And the seyd Officers went right discretly in dewe
 10 order And conducted thes nobyll personages frome ther
 Chambers vnto the Chamber of presence where they shold
 Suppe/ And they beyng there caused them to sytt down/ ther
 seruyce was brought vppe in suche order & Aboundaunce bothe
 Costly & full of subtillties w^t suche a pleasaunt noyce of dyuers
 15 Instrumentes of musyke/ that the ffrenche men (as it semyd)
 ware rapte in to an hevynly paradice/ ye must vnderstand that
 my lord was not there ne yet come/ but they beyng mery and
 pleasaunt w^t ther fare/ devysyg and wonderyng vppon the
 subtillties/ byfore the second Course/ my lord Cardynall came In
 20 among them, booted & sporred (all sodenly) And bad them
 proface/ At whos commyng they wold haue risyn & gyve place/
 w^t myche Ioye/ whome my lord commaundyd to sitt still & kepe
 ther Romes/ And stray way (beyng not shifted of his ridyng
 apparell) called for a Chayer/ And satt hym self down in the
 25 myddes of the table/ lawghyng & beyng as mery as euer I sawe
 hym in all my lyfe/ Anon came vppe the Second Course w^t so
 many disshes, subtillties, & curious devysis w^{ch}e ware above an
 Cth in number of so goodly proporcion and Costly/ that I
 suppose the ffrenchemen never sawe the lyke/ the wonder was no
 30 lesse than it was worthy in deade/ there ware Castelles w^t
 Images in the same/ powlles Chirche & steple in proporcion for
 the quantitie as well counterfeited as the paynter shold haue
 paynted it vppon a clothe or wall/ There ware, beastes, byrdes,
 fowles of dyuers kyndes And personages most lyvely made &
 35 counterfet in dysshes/ some fightyng (as it ware) w^t swordes/
 some w^t Gonnes and Crosebowes/ Some vaughtyng & leapyng/

4 them and a] M.S. them a
 before in; hand canc. before hand

5 other interl. 7 was canc.
 27 curious interl.; bove of above
 interl.; bove canc. before an

Some dauncyng w^t ladyes/ Some in complett harnes lustyng w^t
 speres/ And w^t many more devysis than I ame able w^t my wytt
 to discribbe/ Among all oon I noted/ there was a Chesse bord
 subtilly made of spiced plate/ [f. 38] w^t men to the same/ And
 for the good proporcyon bycause that frenche men be very 5
 experte in that play/ my lord gave the same to a gentilman of
 fraunce commaundyng that a Case shold be made for the same/
 in all hast to preserue it frome perysshing in the conveyaunce
 therof in to hys Contrie/ Then my lord toke a boll of gold (w^{ch}e
 was estemed at the valewe of .V.Cth markes) And fillyd w^t 10
 Ipocras (wherof there was plentie) putyng of his Cappe sayed/
 I drynke to the kyng my souerayn lord & m^r/ and the kyng yo^r
 mayster/ And ther w^t dranke a good draught/ And whan he had
 don, he desired the grund m^r to plege hym cuppe & all/ the
 w^{ch}e Cuppe he gave hym/ And so caused all thother lordes & 15
 gentilmen in other Cuppes to plege thes ij Royall prynces/ then
 went Cuppes meryly abought that many of the ffrenche men
 were fayn to be led to ther beddes/ Than went my lord (levyng
 theme sytting still) in to hys privye Chamber to shyft hym/ And
 makynge there a very short sopper or rather a small repast 20
 retorneled Agayn among theme in to the chamber of presence/
 vsing them so nobly w^t so lovyng & famylier Countenaunce &
 entartaynment that they cowld not commend hym to myche/
 And whillest they ware in Commynycacion And other pastymes/
 all ther lyueres ware serued to ther chambers/ Euery chamber 25
 had a bason & an yewer of siluer & some clean gylt & some
 parcell gylt and some ij great pottes of siluere in lyke maner
 And oon pott at the least w^t wyne & beare/ A boll or Coblett/
 And a siluer pott to drynk bere/ a siluer kandyllstyke or ij/ bothe
 w^t whight lyghtes & yelewe lightes of ij^{re} Cisis of waxe/ and a 30
 staffe torche/ a fynne maynchett & a cheete love of brede/ thus

2-3 wytt to discribbe] MS. wytt discribbe 8 fr canc. before in the;
 conveyaunce] MS. conveyaunce 10 to canc. before And and be before
 fillyd; And interl. 12 dynke canc. before drynke; drynke interl.
 16 theme canc. before thes 17 mery canc. before meryly; meryly interl.
 25 chambers/ Euery] MS. chambers Euery 26 ewer canc. after an;
 yewer interl.; some clean interl. with Clean interl. and canc. before clean
 27 great interl. 29 drynk] k written over g 30 lightes of ij^{re}]
 MS. lightes ij^{re} 31 brede/] MS. brede; and yet not canc. before
 thus

was euery chamber ffurnysshed thorough owt the howsse And yet the ij Cupbordes in the too bankettyng Chambers not oons towched/ Than beyng past mydnyght as tyme serued they ware conveyed to ther lodgynges to take ther rest for that nyght/ In 5 the mornynge of the next day (not early) they rose & hard masse & dyned w^t my lord/ And so departed [f. 38v] toward wyndesore and there hunted delightyng myche of the Castell & Collage and in the order of the Garter/ they beyng departed frome hampton Court/ my lord retourned agayn to westminster bycause it was 10 in the myddes of the terme/ **Yt is not** to be doughted but that the kyng was privye of all this worthy feast/ who entendyd ferre to exced the same/ whome I leave vntill the retourne of the frenche men who gave a specyall commaundement to all his Officers to devyse a farre Sumptioser bankett for thes strayngers 15 otherwyse than they had at hampton Court w^che was not nectlectyd but most spedely put in execucion w^t great delygence// **After the retorne** of thes Strayngers frome wyndesore/ w^che place w^t the goodly order therof/ they myche Commendyd/ The day Approched that they ware invited to the Court at Grenw^che/ 20 where first they dyned/ And after long consultacion of the Sagest w^t our Councillours/ dauncyng of the rest & other pastyme the tyme of Supper came on/ Than was the bankettyng Chamber in the Tyltyerd furnysshed for thentertaynme^t of thes estrayngers/ to the w^che place they ware conveyed by the noblest 25 persons beyng than in the Court/ where they bothe Supped & banketted/ But to discrybe the disshes, the subtylltes, the many straynge devysis/ & order in the same/ I do bothe lake wytt in my grosse old hed & Cunnyng in my bowelles to declare the wonderfull and Curious Imagynacions in the same Inventyd & 30 devysed/ yet this ye shall vnderstand that althoughe it was at hampton Court marvelous Sumptious/ yet dyd thys bankett ferre exced the same as fynne gold dothe siluer/ in waytt & valewe/ And for my part I must nedes confesse (w^che sawe them bothe) that I neuer sawe the lyke or rede in any story

1 of canc. after owt

before there; there and myche interl.

15 not interl.

canc. before wonderfull

before lyke

3 as tyme serued interl.

12 retourne]

MS. retournee

30 hau canc. after shall

34 1 canc.

7 they canc.

29 wondeff

34 1 canc.

or cronycle of any suche feast// In the myddes of this bankett ther was tornyng at the barriers (evyn in the Chamber) w^t lusty gentilmen in gorgious complett harnoys on foote/ Than was there the lyke on horssebake/ And after all this there was the most goodlyest disguyssyng or enterlude made in latten & 5 frenche/ whos apparell was of suche excedyng riches that it passithe my capacitie to expound/ this don than came in suche a nomber of fayer ladys & gentilwomen that bare any brute or fame of beawtie in all this realme/ in the most richest apparell and devysied in dyuers goodly facions that all the connyngest 10 tayllours could devyse to shape or Cut to sett forthe ther beawtie, geesture, & the goodly proporcion of ther bodyes/ who semyd to all men more Ayngelyke than yerthely made of flesshe & bone/ [f. 39] (Sewerly to me Symple sowle) it semyd Inestymable to be discribed/ And so I thynke it was to other of a 15 more higher Iugement/ w^t whome thes Gentilmen of ffaunce daunced vntill an other maske cam In of noble Gentilmen/ who daunced & masked w^t thes fayer ladyes & gentillwomen euery man as hys ffantazy serued theme/ this don and the maskers departed/ there came in an other maske of ladyes so gorgiously 20 apparelled in costly garmentes that I dare not presume to take vpon me to make therof any declaracion lest I shold retther deface than beawtifie them therfore I leave it ontouched/ Thes ladys maskeresses toke eche of theme a frenche gentilman/ to daunce & maske w^t theme/ ye shall vnderstand that thes lady 25 maskers spake good ffrenche w^che delighted myche thes gentilmen to here thes ladyes speke to theme in ther owen tong/ thus was thys nyght occupied & consumed frome .v. of the cloke vntill ij or iij after mydnyght at w^che tyme it was convenient for all estattes to drawe to ther rest/ And thus euery man departed/ 30 whether as they had most releave//

Than as nothyng/ other helthe wealthe or pleasure can allwayes endure So endyd this tryhumpphant bankett/ the w^che

1 or cronycle interl. 3 foote/ Than] MS. foote Than 4 after
and second the interl. 10 dyuers goodly interl. 11 forthe] MS.
for 13 yerthely] first y written over e 21 apparell canc.
before appareld; appareld interl.; presume to interl. 23 it canc.
before them; them interl. 24 maskeresses] second e written over s
25 thes interl. 29 co canc. before convenient 31 as
interl.

in the next mornyng semyd to all the beholders but as a ffantastical dreme/ After all this solompne chere at a day appoyned they prepared them to retourne w^t bagg & baggage/ than as to the office of all honorable persons dothe appurteyn/ they
 5 resorted in good order to the Court to take ther leave of the kyng and other noble men than beyng there/ to whome the kyng commytted his pryncely commendacions to the kyng ther m^r/ And thanked theme of ther paynnes & travell And after long commynycacion w^t the most honorable of that ambassett/ he
 10 bad theme adewe/ who was assigned by the Councell to repayer vnto my lord Cardynall for to receyve the kynges most noble reward/ wherfore they repayred to my lord & takyng of ther leave/ they receyved euery man the kynges reward/ after this sort euery honorable person in estymacion had most comenly
 15 plate to the valewe of iiij^{re} or iiiij^{ch} & some more & some lesse besides other great gyttes receyved at the kynges handes byfore/ as riche gownes, horsses or goodly geldynges/ of great valewe & goodnes/ and some had waytie chaynnes of fynne gold w^t dyuers other gyttes w^e I cannot nowe call to my remembraunce/ but
 20 this I knowe that the lest of [f. 39v] them all had a Somme of Crownes of gold/ the worst page among them had xx^{ti} Crownnes for his part/ and thus they (nobley rewardyd) departed And my lord after humble commendacions had to the ffrenche kyng he bade them a dewe/ And the next day they conveyed all ther
 25 stuffe & furnyture vnto the sees side/ accompanied w^t lusty yong gentilmen of Englond/ but what prayse or commendacions they made in ther Countrie at ther retorne in good faythe I cannot tell you for I neuer hard any thyng therof

Than began other matters to brewe & take place/ that occupied
 30 all mens hedes w^t dyuers Imagynacions/ whos stomakes ware therw^t fulfilled w^tout any perfect digestion/ 'The long hyd & secrrett love bytwen the kyng and m^{rs} Anne Boloyn began to breke owt in to euery mans eares/ the matter was than by the kyng disclosed to my lord Cardenall/ whos perswasion to the

1 next interl.; it canc. before semyd 3 as interl. 4 persons
 dothe appurteyn/] MS. persons/ dothe appurteyn with dothe appurteyn
 interl. 5 toke canc. before resorted 10 theme canc. before theme
 11 Cardynall: ll frayed away at edge of page 17 riche interl. 21 gold/
 the] MS. gold the 22 the canc. before my 33 in interl.;
 by canc. before by

contrarie made to the kyng vpon his knees cowld not effect/ the kyng was so amorouslly affeccionate/ that wyll bare place/ and highe dissercion banysshed for the tyme/ My lord provoked by the kyng to declare his wyse oppynyon in thys matter for the furtheraunce of his desired affecte/ who thought it not mete for 5 hym alone to wade to ferre to geve his hasty Iugemet or advyse in so waytie a matter desired of the kyng licence to axe the Councell of men of Auncyent study & of ffamous learnyng bothe in the lawes dyvyn & Civell (that opteyned) he by his legantyne Auctorytie sent owt his commyssion vnto all the 10 bysshoppes of this realme and for other that was exactly owther learned in any of the seyd lawes/ or elles had in any estymacion for ther prudent Councell & Iugemet in pryncely affayers of long experyence/ Than assembled these prelates byfore my lord Cardynall at his place in westminster wt many other famous 15 & notable Clarkes of bothe the vnyuersites/ Oxford & Cambryge/ and also owt of dyuers Colleges & cathederal chirches of this realme renommed & allowed learned & of wyty dissercion in the determynacion of doughtfull questions// Than was the matter of the kynges Case debated, reasonyd & Argued 20 Consulting frome day to day & tyme to tyme/ that it was to men learned a goodly heryng/ but in Conclusion it semyd me by the departure of the Auncyent fathers of the lawes/ that they departed wt oon Iugement contrary to thexpectacion of the princypall parties/ I hard the oppynyon of Somme of the most 25 famous persons among that sort report/ that the kynges case was so obscure & doughtfull for any learned man to [f. 40] discus/ the poyntes therin ware so darke to be credytyd that it was very hard to haue any true vnderstandingy or Intellygence/ And therfore they departed wtout any resolucion or Iugemet/ Than 30 in this assemble of bysshoppes it was thought most expedient that the kyng shold fyrst send owt his commyssioners in to all the vnyuersites of Cristendome/ As well here in Englund as in to fforreyn Contries and regions/ to haue among them his

1 not *canc.* after cowld; not] t written over n5 not *interl.*10 al *canc.* before the11 other le exactly with exactly *interl. canc.* after
was; exactly *interl.*16 vy *canc.* before vnyuersites 17 owt of *interl.*18 & *interl.* before of; f *canc.* before wytyy 22 a goodly heryng *canc.*after heryng; that *canc.* before by 23 auncyent *canc.* before Auncyent28 poytes *canc.* before poyntes

graces case Argued substancyally And to bryng w^t them frome
 thence the very defynycion of ther oppynyoons in the same/
 vnder the sealles of euery seuerall vnyuersitie/ thus was ther
 determynacion for thys tyme/ And therupon agreed that
 5 Commyssioners ware Incontynent appoyned and sent forthe
 abought this matter in to seuerall vnyuersites/ as some to
 Oxford Some to Cambryge/ some to lovayn/ Some to Paris/
 Some to Orlyaunce/ some to bononye/ And some to Padwaye/
 And some to other/ Allthoough thes Commyssioners had the
 10 traveylle/ yet was the charges the kynges the w^{ch}e was no small
 sommes of mony/ And all went owt of the kynges Coffers in to
 fforayn Regions/ ffor as I hard it reported of credyble persons
 (as it semed in dead) that besides the great charges of the
 Commyssioners ther was in estimable Sommes of mony gevyn
 15 to the ffamous Clarkes to choke theme/ and in especyal to
 suche as hade the gouernaunce & custody of ther vnyuersite
 sealles/ In so myche as they agreed not oonly in oppynyons but
 also opteyned of theme the vnyuersites sealles (the w^{ch}e atteyned)
 they retourned home agayn furnesshed for ther purpose at whos
 20 retorne ther was no small Ioy made of the pryncypall parties/
 In so myche as the Commyssioners ware not oonly euer in great
 estymacion but also most liberally auaunced & rewardyd/ fferre
 beyond ther worthy deserthes/ Notw^tstandyng they prospered/
 And the matter went still forward/ hauyng than as they thought
 25 a sewer foundacion to ground them vppon/ thes procedynges
 beyng oons declared to my lord Cardynall/ Sent agayn for all
 the bysshoppes whome he made privye of the expedicion of the
 commyssioners and for the very profe therof he shewed theme
 the oppynyons of the seuerall vnyuersites in writyng vnder ther
 30 vnyuersities sealles/ Thes matters beyng thus brought to passe/
 they went oons agayn to consultacion/ howe thes matters shold
 be ordered/ [f. 40v] to the purpose/ Yt was than thought good &
 concludyd by the Advyse of them all that the kyng shold (to
 avoyd all ambyguyties) send vnto the pope a legacion w^t the

9 Althoough] g canc. between g and h; uncanc. g written over h 10 no canc.
 after w^{ch}e 16 vnyuersite] MS. vnyersite 18 vnyere canc. before
 vnyuersites 23 deserthes/ Notw^tstandyng] MS. deserthes Notw^tstanding
 25 staffe canc. after sewer; foundacion interl. 29 r canc. before oppynyons;
 of the seuerall vnyuersites interl.

Instrume^t declaryng the oppynyons of the vnyuersites vnder ther sealles To the w^{ch}e it was thought good that all thes prelates in this assemble shold Ioyn w^t the kyng in thys legacion makyng intersession & sewte to the pope for advyse & Iugement in this great & waytie matter/ And if the pope wold not dyrectly 5 consent to the same request that than the Ambassitores shold further requyer of hym a Commyssion to be dirrected vnder leade/ to establissh a court Iudicyall in England (ac vice tantum) directed to my lord Cardynall & vnto the Cardynall Campagious w^{ch}e was than bysshope of Bathe/ (Althoughe he 10 ware a strynger) w^{ch}e the kyng gave hym at suche tyme as he was the Popes ambassitorie here in Englund/ to here & determinyng accordyng to the Iust Iugementes of ther concyence/ The w^{ch}e after long & great sewt they oppteyned of the pope his commysson/ this don and atchyved they made retorne in to Englond 15 makeng report vnto the kyng of ther expedicion/ trustyng that hys graces pleasure & purpose shold nowe perfectly be brought to passe/ consideryng the estate of the Iuges who ware the Cardynall of Englond & of Campagious beyng bothe hys hignes subiectes in effecte/ 20

Long was the desier & greater was the hoppe/ on all sides expectyng the Commyng of the lagacion & Commyssion frome Rome yet at lengthe yt came/ And after the arryall of the legat Campasious (w^t thys solompne commyssion) in England/ he beyng sore vexed w^t the gowtte was constrainyd by force 25 therof to make a long Iourney or euer he came to london/ who shold haue byn most solompnly receyved at Blak hethe/ And so w^t great tryhumphe conveyed to london but his glory was suche/ that he wold in no wyse be entertayned w^t any suche pompe or vaynglory/ who suddenly came by water in a wyry to his owen 30 howsse w^tout Temple barre called than Bathe place w^{ch}e was furnysshed for hym w^t all maner of Stiffe & Implemetes of my lordes provysion/ where he contynued & lodged duryng his abode here in Englond/ Than after some delyberacion/ his commyssion [f. 41] vnderstandyd, rede, & perceyved/ yt was by the councell 35

5 dyrectly interl. 12 do canc. after to 14 to whome canc. after pope
 14-15 his commysson interl. with the virgule placed before his 15 the canc.
 before and 17 be canc. before perfectly 19 es canc. after Cardynall
 21 r canc. after greater was the 34 rede canc. after commyssion

- determined that the kyng & the Quene his wyfe shold be lodged at Bridewell/ And that in the blake ffriers a certyn place shold be appoyned where as the kyng & the Quene myght most conveniently repaire to the Court there to be erected & kepte
 5 for the disputacion & determinacion of the kynges case/ where as thes ij legattes sat In Iugemet^t as notable Iuges/ byfore whome the kyng & the Quene ware dewly Cited and Sommoned to appere/ **W^{ch}e was** the strayngest & newest sight & devyse that euer was rede or hard in any history or Cronycle in any Region/
 10 That a kyng and a quene/ to be convented and constrainyd by processe compellatory to appere in any Court (as comen persons) w^t in ther owen Realme or domynyon to abyde the Iugemet^t & decrees of ther owen subiectes/ havyng the dyadem & prerogatyfe therof **Ys it not** a world to consider the desier of wylfull
 15 prynces whan they fully be bent and Inclyned to fullfyll ther voluptuous Appetytes/ Ayenst the **w^{ch}e** no reasonable perswasions wyll suffice/ littill or no thyng wayeng or regardyng the dayngerous sequelles that dothe ensue as well to them selfes as to ther Realme & subiectes/ And Above all thynges ther is no
 20 oon thyng that causithe theme to be more wylfull than Carnall desier & voluptuous affeccion of folyshe love/ thexperyeunce is playn in this case bothe manyfest & evydent/ ffor what surmised Invencions hathe byn Invented/, what lawes hathe byn enacted/, what noble and auncyent monastorys ouerthrownen & defaced/
 25 what dyuersites of religious oppynyons hathe rissyn/ what execucions hathe byn commytted/ howe many famous & notable Clarkes hathe suffered deathe/ what charitable foundations ware peruertryd frome the releafe of the poore vnto prophan vsis/ And what alteracions of good and holsome
 30 auncyent lawes & custumes hathe byn tossed by wyll & wylfull desier of the prynce/ almost to the subuercyon and desolacion of this noble Realme/ all men may vnderstand what hathe chaunced to this reegion/ The prove ther of hathe taught all vs Englisshe-men a comen experyence/ the more is the pitie/ & to all good

1 wyfe canc. before wyfe 7 assi canc. before dewly; dewly interl. 10 two indecipherable letters canc. after kyng 11 comen] MS. coen 20 to be interl. 22 bothe interl.; & canc. before & 24 hathe byn canc. before ouerthrownen 26 of canc. before hathe and what before howe 30 la canc. before auncyent 34 comen] MS. coen

men very lamentable to be considered/ yf eyes be not blynd men
 may se/ if eares be not stopped they may here/ And if pitie be not
 exiled they may lament/ the sequell of this pernycious and
 inordynat/ [f. 41v] Carnall love/ the plague wherof is not seased
 (allthoughe this love lasted but a whyle) w^{ch}e our lord quenche/ 5
 And take frome vs his Indygnacion/ Quia peccauimus cum
 patribus nostris et Iniuste egimus/ &ee/

Ye shall vnderstand/ As I sayd before/ that there was a
 Courte erected in the blake ffriers in london/ where thes ij
 Cardynalles satt for Iuges/ Nowe wyll I set you owte the maner 10
 & order of the Court there/ ffirst there was a Court placed w^t
 tabylles, benches, & barres, lyke a consistory a place Iudicyall
 for the Iuges to sytt on/ there was also a clothe of estate vnder
 the w^{ch}e sate the kyng/ & the Quene sat some distaunce benethe
 the kyng/ vnder the Iuges feet sat the officers of the Court/ the 15
 chefe Scribbe there/ was than Doctor Stephens (w^{ch}e was after
 bysshope of wynchester) the apparitor was oon Cooke (most
 comenly called Cooke of wynchester) Than satt there w^t in the
 seyd Court directly byfore the kyng & Iuges/ the Archebisshope
 of Caunterbure (Doctor warham) and all the other bysshoppes/ 20
 than At bothe thendes w^t a barre made for them/ the councelles
 on bothe sydes/ the doctors for the kyng was Doctor Sampson
 w^{ch}e was after bysshope of Chichester/ And Doctor Bell w^{ch}e
 after was bysshope of worcetor/ w^t dyuers other/ the proctors on
 the kynges part was doctor Peter/ w^{ch}e was after made the kynges 25
 chefe secretory/ And Doctor Tregonell/ And dyuers other/
 Nowe on thother side stode the Councell for the quene/ Doctor
 ffissher Bisshope of Rochester/ And Doctor Standysshe Some-
 tym a gray ffreer and than bysshope of Saynt Assaph in wales/
 ij notable Clarkes in dyvynytie and in especyall the bysshoppe 30
 of Rochester/ a very godly man and a devout person/ who after
 sufferd deathe at Tower hyll the w^{ch}e was greatly lamented
 thorough all the forrayn vnyuersites of cristendom/ ther was
 also an other auncyent doctor called (as I do remember) doctor

14 kyng/ & the Quene sat] MS. kyng & the Quene/ sat 17 wyn-
 chester)] MS. wynchester/ 18 comenly] MS. comnly 22 sydes] y
 written over e 29 Assaph] a written over e 32 of canc. before
 at; at interl. 33 among canc. before thorough; thorough interl.;
 cristendom/ ther] MS. cristendom ther

Rydley a very small person in stature/ but sewerly a great & an excellent Clarke in dyvnytie/ The Court beyng thus fffurnysshed & ordered/ The Iuges commaundyd the Crier to commaund Scylence/ than was the Iuges Commyssion w^{ch}e they had of the
 5 pope publysshed & red opynly byfore all the Audyence there assembled/ that don/ the Crier called the kyng by the name of kyng herre of Englond come in to the Court/ &c^e/ w^t that the kyng answered & sayd (here my lordes) than he called also the quene/ by the name of katheren quen of Englond come in to the
 10 Court/ &c^e/ who made no answere to the same/ but rose vppe incontynent [f. 42] owt of hir chayer where as she satt/ And bycause she cowld not come dyrectly to the kyng/ for the distaunce w^{ch}e seuered theme/ she toke payn to goo abought vnto the kyng knelyng down at his feete/ in the sight of all the
 15 Courte & assemble/ To whome she sayd in effect/ in broken Englysshe as folowyth/
Syr/ q^d she/ I beseche you for all the loves that hathe byn bytwen vs And for the love of god/ lett me haue Iustice & right/ take of me some pitie & compassion/ for I am a poore woman
 20 and a Straynger borne owte of yo^r domynyon/ I haue here no assured frendes/ And muche lesse Indifferent Councell/ I flee to you as to the hed of Iustice w^t in thys realme/ Alas sir where In haue I offendyd you/ or what occasion of displeasure haue I deserued ayenst yo^r wyll or pleasure/ entenyng (as I perceyve)
 25 to put me frome you/ I take god & all the world to wytnes that I haue byn to you a trewe humble and obedyent wyfe/ euer confirmable to yo^r wyll and pleasure that neuer sayed or dyd any thyng to the contrarye therof/ beyng allwayes well pleased & contented w^t all thynges wherin ye had any delight or
 30 dalyaunce/ whether it ware in littill or myche/ I neuer grudged in word or countenaunce or shewed a vysage or sparke of discontentacion/ I loved all thos whome ye loved/ oonly for yo^r sake/ whether I had cause or no/ and whether they ware my ffrendes or my ennemyes/ this xxⁱⁱ yeres I haue byn yo^r true

3 &] written over or; Crier canc. before Crier 8 also interl. 8-9 the
 canc. before quene 14 C canc. after all 23 In haue] MS. In/
 haue 25 to put yo canc. before first to 26 an hun canc. before a;
 a interl. 31 the canc. after shewed; a interl. 32 discontent-
 acion] MS. discontentacion

wyfe (or more) and by me ye haue had dyuers childeyne/
Allthoughe it hathe pleased god to call theme owt of this
world/ w^{ch}e hathe byn no default in me/ And whan ye had me
at the ffirst (I take god to be my Iuge) I was a true mayed w^towt
touche of man/ And whether it be true or no I put it to yo^r 5
concyence/ Yf there be any Iust cause by the lawe that ye can
allegge ayenst me other of dishonestie or any other Impediment
to banysshe & put me frome you/ I ame well content to departe
to my great shame & dishonour/ And if there be none/ than here
I most lowly beseche you lett me remayn in my former estate 10
And to receyve Iustice at yo^r pryncely handes/ The kyng yo^r
ffather was in the tyme of his [f. 42v] Reyn of suche estymacion
thoroughe the world for his excellent wysdome that he was
accompted and called of all men/ the second Salamon/ And my
ffather fferdynando kyng of spayn who was esteemed to be oon 15
of the wyttiest Prynces that Reygned in Spayn many yeris
byfore/ Who ware bothe wyse & excellent kynges in wysdome &
pryncely behauour/ yt is not therfore to be doughted but that
they elected & gathered as wyse Councillers abought theme as
to ther highe disscressions was thought mete/ Also as me semyth 20
ther was in thos dayes/ as wyse, as well learned men/ And men
of as good Iugement as be at this present in bothe Realmes/ Who
thought than the mariage bytwen you And me good & lawfull/
Therfore it is a wonder to me/ what newe Invencions are nowe
Invented ayenst me/ that neuer entendyd but honestie/ And 25
cause me to stand to the order & Iugement of this newe Court/
wherin ye may do me myche wrong if ye entend any Cruel-
tie/ ffor ye may condempne me for lake of sufficyent Answere/
hauyng no Indifferent Councell/ but suche as be assigned me/
w^t whos wysdome & learnyng I ame not acquaynted/ ye must 30
Consider that they cannot be Indifferent councellers for my
parte/ w^{ch}e be yo^r subiectes & taken owt of yo^r owen councell
byfore wherin they be made pryvye/ And dare not for yo^r
displeasure disobey yo^r wyll & entent/ beyng oons made pryvye

1 had *interl.* 10 I *interl.* 11 & haue *canc.* before And; to *interl.*
13 excellent *interl.* 15 ffurdyna *canc.* before fferdynando 18 pryncell
canc. before pryncely; is *interl.* 26 C *canc.* before newe 27 d *canc.*
before may; a single indecipherable letter *canc.* before if 29 Indifferent]
MS. Indifferen; assi *canc.* before assigned 30 w^t *interl.* 32 owen
interl.

ther to/ ther for I most humbly requyer you in the way of charitie and for the love of god (who is the Iuste Iuge) to spare thextremytye of thys newe Court vntill I may be aduertised what way & order my frendes in Spayn woll advyse me to take/

5 And if ye wyll not extend to me so myche Indifferent ffauour/ your pleasure than be fullfilled/ And to god I commyt my case/ And evyn w^t that she rose vppe makyng lowe curtosye to the kyng/ And so departed frome thence/ Supposed that she wold haue resortyd agayn to hir former place/ but she toke hir direct

10 way owt of the howsse/ leanyng (as she was wont allwayes to do/) vppon the arme of hir Generall receyvour called m^r Griffithe/ And the kyng beyng aduertysed of hir departure commaundyd the Crier to call hir agayn/ who called hir by the name of katheren quen of Englond come in to the Court// &c^e/

15 w^tthat q^d Gryffyth/madame ye be called agayn/ on on/ q^d she/ it [f. 43] makes no matter/ for it is no Indifferent Court for me/ therfore I wyll not tary/ goo on yo^r wayes/ And thus she departyd owt of that Court w^t out any further Answere at that tyme or at any other nor wold neuer appere in any Court after/

20 **The kyng perceyveng**/ that she was departed in suche sort callyng to his graces memory all hir lamentable wordes that she had pronuncyd byfore hym & all the Audyence/ sayd thus in effect/ **ffor as myche**/ q^d he/ as the quen is goon I wyll in hir absence/ declare vnto you all my lordes here presently assembled/

25 She hathe byne to me as true obedyent & as confirmable a wifye as I cowld in my fantzy wyshe or desier/ She hathe all the vertuouse qualities that owght to be in a woman of hir dignytie or in any other of basser estate/ Sewerly/ she is also a noble woman borne/ if nothyng ware in hir but oonly hir condicyons

30 woll well declare the same/ w^t that q^d my lord Cardynall sir I most humbly beseche yo^r highnes to declare me byfore all this Audyence/ whether I haue byn the cheafe Inventor or first mover of this matter vnto yo^r maiestie/ for I am greatly suspected of all men herein// My lord Cardynall/ q^d the kyng/ I can

35 well excuse you herin/ mary indeade ye haue byn rather ayenst

2 of interl.
letter canc. before she
before come
lament

3 Cr canc. before newe
9 to hir] r written over s
17 tary/ goo] MS. tary goo
32 Audyence canc. before Audyence

7 a single indecipherable
14 co canc.
21 lamentable] MS.
35 you interl.

me in attemptyng or settyngh forthe ther of/ And to put you all
owt of dought I wyll declare vnto you thes pecyal cause that
moved me herevnto/ yt was a certyn Scripulositie that prykked
my concyence vppon dyuers wordes that ware spoken at a
certyn tyme by the Bysshope of Biean the frenche kynges 5
Ambassitor/ who had lyen here long vppon the debatyng for the
conclusion of a mariage to be concludyd bytwen the prynces our
doughter Marye/ and the yong duke of Orlyance the ffrenche
kynges second Sonne/ And vppon the resolucyon & deter-
mynacion therof he desired respight to aduertise the kyng his 10
mr therof/ whether our doughter Marie shold be legitimate/ in
respect of the mariage w^{ch}e was somtyme bytwen the Quene here
& my brother late prynce Arthure/ thes wordes ware so con-
cveyed wt in my scripulous concyence/ that it brede a doughtfull
rike wt in my brest w^{ch}e dought prykked vexed & trobled so 15
my mynd [f. 43v] And so disquyoted me that I was in great
dowght of goddes Indignacion (w^{ch}e as semyd me) appered right
well/ myche the rathur for that he hathe not sent me any Issue
male/ ffor all suche issue males as I haue receyved of the
quene died incontynent after they ware borne/ so that I dought 20
the punysshement of god in that behalf/ Thus/ beyng trobled in
waves of a scripulos concience/ And partly in dispayer of any
Issue male by hir/ it drove me at last to consider thestate of this
Realme/ And the daynger it stode in for lake of Issue male/ to
succed me in this Emperyll dignyte/ I thought it good therfore 25
in the release of the waytie borden of scrypulous concience/ And
the quyet estate of this noble Realme/ to attempte the lawe ther
in And wether I myght take an other wyfe/ in case that my first
copulacion wt this gentilwoman ware not lawfull/ w^{ch}e I intend
not for any carnall concupisence, ne for any displeasure or 30
myslyke of the quens person or age/ wt whome I could be as well
content to contynewe duryng my lyfe/ if our mariage may stand
wt godes lawes as wt any woman alyve/ in w^{ch}e poynt consistith
all this dought that we goo nowe abought to trie by the learned

6 of canc. before for; for interl. 13 p canc. before late 14 doughtfull
interl. 15 of concyence canc. before wt; prykked interl. 23 consult
canc. before consider; consider interl. 25 En canc. before Emperyll
27 the interl. before lawe 28 the f canc. after case 31 displeasure
canc. before person

wysdome & Iugemet^{es} of you our prelates & pastures of this realme here assembled for that purpose to whos concyence and Iugemet/ I haue commytted the charge accordyng to the w^{ch}e (god wyllyng) we will be Right well contentyd to submyt our
 5 selfe to obbey the same for my part/ wherin after I oons per-
 ceyved my concyence wondyd wt the doughtfull case herin/ I
 moved first this matter in confession to you my lord of lyncolne
 (my gostly father)/ And for as myche as than your self ware in
 some dought to geve me councell/ moved me to axe ferther
 10 councell of all you my lordes/ wherin I moved you first my lord
 of Caunterbury axyng yo^r lycence (for as myche as you ware our
 Metropolytan) to put this matter in question/ And so I dyd of all
 you my lordes/ to the w^{ch}e ye haue all graunted by writyng vnder
 all yo^r seales/ the w^{ch}e I haue here to be shewed/ That is truthe
 15 yf it please yo^r highnes (q^d the bysshope of Caunterbury) I
 dought not but all my bretherne here present woll affirme the
 same/ No sir not I/ q^d the bysshoppe of Rochester ye haue not
 my consent therto/ no hathe/ q^d the kyng/ loke here vpon this
 is not this yo^r hand & seale/ and shewed hym the Instrument/
 20 [f. 44] wt Sealles/ No forsothe sir q^d the bysshope of Rochester
 it is not my hand nor seale/ to that q^d the kyng to my lord of
 Canterbury/ Sir howe say ye/ is it not his hand & seale/ yes sir
 q^d he/ that is not so q^d the bysshope of Rochester/ for in dead
 you ware in hand wt me/ to haue bothe my hand & seale/ as other
 25 of my lordes hathe all redy don/ but than I sayed to you that I
 wold neuer consent to no suche acte for it ware myche agaynst
 my concyence nor my hand & seale shold neuer be seen at any
 suche Instrument (god wyllyng) wt myche more matter touchyng
 the same commynycacion bytwen vs/ you say truthe/ q^d the
 30 bysshope of Canterbury suche wordes ye had vnto me/ but at the
 last ye ware fully perswadid that I shold for you subscribe yo^r

1 of canc. before of this

3 Iugemet interl.; concyence canc. after

Iugemet; & lugement canc. before accordyng; I wyll canc. after w^{ch}e 4 we
 will be interl.; be canc. before contentyd 5 sef canc. before selfe; I canc.
 before after 7 you interl. 8 my lord of lyncoln canc. before ware9 co canc. before councell 11 myche as you] MS. myche you 12 que
 canc. after in 13 vnder canc. before by 17 so sir/ with sir/interl.
 canc. before q^d 18-19 this interl. before is 19 Instrument] MS.Instrm 20 sea canc. after wt 21 is interl. 23 the canc.
 before he; Rog canc. before Rochester 31 resolued & canc. before perswadid;
 perswadid interl.; put yo^r seale canc. before subscribe; subscribe yo^r interl.

name and put to a seale my selfe and ye wold allowe the same/ all w^{ch}e wordes & matter q^d the bysshope of Rochester vnder yo^r correcccion my lord & supportacion of this noble audyence/ ther is no thyng more ontrewē// well well/ q^d the kyng it shall make no matter we woll not stand w^t you in argume^t here in for 5 you are but oon man/ And w^t that the Court was aiourned vntill the next day of ther Session/

The next court day the Cardynalles satte there agayn/ At w^{ch}e tyme the Councelles on bothe sydes ware there present/ The kynges Councell alledged the mariage not good frome the 10 begynnnyng by cause of the Carnall knowlege commytted bytwen prynce Arthure hir first hosbond the kynges brother/ and hir/ thys matter beyng very sore touched & mayntened by the kynges Councell/ and the contrary defendyd by suche as toke vpon them to be on that other part w^t the good quene/ 15 And to prove the same carnall copulacion they alleged many colored reasons and symulitudes of trouthe/ it was answared agayn negatifely on the other side by w^{ch}e it semed that all ther former allegacions to be very doughtfull to be tried/ so that it was sayd that no man cowld knowe the trowthe/ yes q^d the 20 bysshope of Rochester/ Ego nosco veritatem howe knowe ye the trouthe/ q^d my lord Cardynall/ for sothe/ q^d he/ Ego sum professor veritatis/ I knowe that god is truthe it self nor he neuer spake but truthe/ w^{ch}e sayd/ Q^d deus coniunxit homo non separat/ And for as myche as this mariage/ [f. 44v] was mad and 25 Ioyned by god to a good entent I say that I knowe the trouthe/ the w^{ch}e cannot be broken or losed by the power of man vpon no on fayned occasyon/ So myche dothe all faythfull men knowe/ q^d my lord Cardynall/ as well as you/ yet this reason is not sufficent in this case/ ffor the kynges Councell dothe allege 30 dyuers presumcyons to prove the mariage not good at the begynnnyng/ ergo/ say they/ it was not Ioyned by god at the

10 alledged *canc. before alledged*11 bri *canc. before* begynnnyng12 and *canc. before the*16 carnall *interl.*

17 colored

*interl.*18 w *canc. before* by20 knew *canc. before*

could

21 veritatem *interl.*; verytatem *canc. before* howe22 q^d my lord*canc. after trouthe and yes after Cardynall/; first q^d interl.; the canc. before he*23 therfore *canc. before* I25 was *interl.*26-27 w^{ch}e falcefied bygod/ *canc. after trouthe/ the*27 broked *canc. after be;* broken *interl.; a single**indecipherable letter canc. before power*28 on *interl.; Iust canc. after on;*fayned *interl.; that god hath made canc. after occasyon*

begynnyng & therfore it is not lawfull/ for god ordynyth nor
 Ioynyth nothyng w^tout a Iust order therfore it is not to be
 doughted but that ther presuncyons must be treu as yt playnly
 apperys/ And no thyng can be more true/ in case ther allagacions
 5 cannot be avoyded/ therfore to say that the matremony was
 Ioyned of god/ ye must prove it ferther than by that texte w^the
 ye haue alleged for yo^r matter/ for ye muste first avoyd ther
 presuncyons/ Than q^d oon doctor Rydley/ Yt is a shame & a
 great dishonor to this honorable persons that any suche pre-
 10 sumpcyons shold be alledged in this opyn Court w^the be to all
 good & honest men most detestable to be rehersed/ what q^d my
 lord Cardynall/ Domine Doctor/ Magis reuerenter/ no no my
 lord/ q^d he/ ther belongyth no reuerence to be gevyn to this
 abhomynable presuncyons ffor an vnreuerent tale wold be
 15 onreuerently answered/ And there they left & procedyd no
 further at that tyme/

Thus thys court/ passed frome Cession to Session and day to
 day/ In so myche that a certyn day the kyng sent for my lord at
 the brekyng vppe oon day of the Court to come to hym in to
 20 Brydwel/ And to accomplaysshe his commaundeme^t he went
 vnto hym/ And beyng there w^t hym in commynycacion/ in his
 graces privye chamber frome xj^{en} vnto xijth of the cloke and past
 at none/ my lord came owte & departed frome the kyng and
 toke his barge at the blake ffriers steyers and so went to hys
 25 howisse at westminster/ the bysshope of Carelyle beyng w^t
 hym in his barge sayd vnto hym wypyng the swett frome his
 face/ sir q^d he it is a very hot day/ yea q^d my lord Cardynall/ yf
 ye had byn as well chaffed as I haue byn w^tin this hower/ ye wold
 say it ware very hott/ And asson as he came home to his howesse
 30 at westminster/ he went incontynent to his naked bed where he

1 not *canc.* before nor; nor *interl.* 3 as and playnly *interl.* 4 apperys
canc. before apperys; yet *canc.* before And; And and can be *interl.* 6 it *interl.*
canc. before prove; it and by *interl.* 7 if *canc.* before second
 for; second for *interl.* prove wylly *canc.* before muste; muste first *interl*
 11 be *interl.* rehersed / what] MS. rehersed what 13 the *interl.* and.
canc. before this; this *interl.* 14 matter *canc.* before presuncyons and
 vnreuerent before vnreuerent; presuncyons *interl.*; have *canc.* before be
 15 answered/ And] MS. answered And 17 passed *interl.* 23 &
canc. before came; at *canc.* before and; and *interl.* 25 westminster/ the]
 MS. westminster the; of Carelyle *interl.* 26 of *canc.* before the; the swett
 frome *interl.* 27 w^t swett/ *canc.* before sir; is *interl.*

had not lyen ffully the space of ij howers but that my lord of wyltchere came to speke w^t hym of a messwage frome the kyng/ my lord hauyng vnderstandingy of his commyng caused hym to be brought [f. 45] vnto his beddes side/ And he beyng there shewed that the kynges pleasure was that he shold 5 incontynent (accompanned w^t thother Cardynall) repayer vnto the quene at Bridwell in to hir chamber/ to perswade hir by ther wysdomes Advysyng hir to surrender the hole matter in to the kynges handes by hir owen wyll & consent w^{ch}e shold be myche better to hyr honor/ than to stand to the triall of the lawe/ and to 10 be condempned w^{ch}e shold be myche to hir slander & defamacion/ To fullfyll the kynges pleasure/ q^d my lord he was redy and wold prepare hym to goo thether owt of hand/ sayeng further to my lord of wyltshere/ ye and other of my lordes of the Councell w^{ch}e be nere vnto the kyng/ are not a littill to blame & 15 mysadvysed to put any suche ffantazis in to his hed wherby ye are the causers of great troble to all this realme/ And at lengthe gett you but small thankes owther of god or of the world/ w^t many other vehemet wordes & sentences that was lyke to ensewe of thys matter/ w^{ch}e wordes caused my lord of wyltshere to 20 water his eyes knelyng all this while bye my lordes beddes syde and in conclusion departed/ And than my lord Roose vppe & made hym redy takyng his barge And went strayt to bathe place to the other Cardynall And so went to gether vnto Bridwell/ dyrectly to the quenes lodgyng/ And they beyng in 25 hir Chamber of presence/ shewed to the gentilman vssher that they came to speke w^t the quenes grace/ the gentilman vssher Aduertised the quene ther of/ Incontynent w^t that she came owt of hir privye Chamber w^t a skayn of whight thred abought hir neke in to the chamber of presence/ where the Cardynalles 30 ware gevynge of attendaunce vpon hir Commyngh/ At whos commyngh/ q^d she/ Alake my lordes I ame sory to cause you to attend vpon me/ what is yo^r pleasure w^t me/ if it please you/ q^d my lord Cardynall/ to goo in to yo^r chamber/ we woll shewe

1 ffor canc. before ffully
chamber] r of hir written over s
before Roose
what] MS. me what

7 vnto canc. before in; in to interl.; hir
canc. after & 8 to canc. after hir
before Roose 18 ne canc. before or; or interl.
what] MS. me what

15-16 mysadv
22 Roose canc.

28 of/ Incontynent] MS. of Incontynent
33 me/
34 cause you canc. before shewe

you the cause of our Commyngh/ my lord/ q^d she/ Yf ye haue
 any thyngh to say speke it opynly byfore all thes folkes ffor
 I feare no thyngh that ye can sey or allege ayenst me/ but that
 I wold all the world shold bothe here & se it/ therfor I pray you
 5 speke yo^r mynd opynly/ Than began my lord to speake/ to hir
 in latten// Nay good my lord/ q^d she/ speke to me in Englyssh
 I beseche you/ althoughe I vnderstand latten/ ffor sothe than/
 q^d my lord/ Madame if it please yo^r grace we come bothe to
 [f. 45v] knowe yo^r mynd howe ye be disposed to do in thys
 10 matter bytwen the kyng & you and also to declare secretly our
 oppynyons & our Councell vnto w^ethe we haue entendyd of very
 zele/ and obeydence that we beare to yo^r grace/ My lordes
 I thanke you than q^d she/ of yo^r good wylles/ but to make
 answare to yo^r request/ I cannot so sodenly for I was sett among
 15 my maydens at worke thynkyng full littill of any suche matter/
 wherin there nedyth a lenger deliberacion and a better hed than
 myn to make answere to so noble wyse men as ye be/ I had nede
 of good Councell in this case w^ethe touchethe me so nere/ And
 for any Councell or frendshype that I can fynd in England are
 20 nothyng to my purpose or profette/ thynke you (I pray you my
 lordes) wyll any Englishe man councell or be frendly vnto me
 ayenst the kynges pleasure they beyng his subiectes (nay for
 sothe my lordes)/ And for my councell in whome I do entend to
 put my trust be not here/ they be in Spayn in my natife
 25 Countrie/ Alas my lordes I ame a poore woman lakkyng bothe
 wytt & vnderstanding suffcyently to answere suche approved
 wyse men as ye be bothe in so waytie a matter/ I pray you to
 extend yo^r good & indifferent myndes in yo^r auctorytie/ vnto me
 for I ame a symple woman destitut & barrayn of frendshype and
 30 Councell here in a forreyn Region/ And as for yo^r Councell
 I woll not refuse but be glad to here/ And w^t that she toke my
 lord by the hand and led hym in to hyr privye chamber w^t
 thother Cardynall/ where they ware in long Commynycacion/
 we in the other Chamber myght some tyme here the quene speke

6 q^d she] MS. q^d/ she 7 latten/ ffor] MS. latten ffor 12 u canc.
 after yo^r 13 to interl. 16 n canc. before nedyth
 20 to my interl.; my lordes canc. before (I 20-21 my lordes interl.
 23 to canc. before in; in interl. 25 Countrie/ Alas] MS. Countrie Alas
 27 ye interl. 28 me interl. 29 a interl. 30 as interl.
 31 here/ And] MS. here And

very lowde but what it was we could not vnderstand/ Ther Commynycacion endyd the Cardynalles departed and went directly to the kyng makyng to hymre relation of ther talke w^t the quene/ And after resortyd home to ther howsses to supper// **Thus went thys** straynge Case forward frome Court day to 5 Court day/ vntill it came to Iugemet^t/ So that euery man expected the Iugemet^t to be gevyn vppon the case at the next Court day/ At w^{ch}e day the kyng came thereto and sat w^t in a gallery ayenst the doore of the same that loked vnto the Iuges where they satt whome he myght se & here speke/ to here what Iugement they 10 woold geve/ in his sewte/ At w^{ch}e tyme all ther procedynges ware first opynly red in latten/ And that don the kynges learned Councell [f. 46] At the barre called fast for Iugemet^t/ w^t that q^d the Cardynall Campagious I wyll geve no Iugement herin vntill I haue made relation vnto the Pope of all our procedynges/ 15 whos Councell & commaundemet^t in thys highe case I wyll obserue/ the case is to hyghe (& notable knownen thoroughe all the world) for vs to geve any hasty Iugemet^t/ consideryng the highenes of the persons and the doughtfull allegacions/ And also whos Commyssioners we be/ vnder whos auctorytie we sitt 20 here/ yt ware therfore reason that we shold make our cheafe hed a councell in the same byfore we procede in to Iugemet^t defynytyfe/ I come not so ferre to please any man for ffere, mede, or fauour/ be he kyng or any other potentate/ I haue no suche respect to the persons that I woll offend my consience/ I woll 25 not for fauour or displeasure of any highe estat or myghty prynce/ do that thyng that shold be ayenst the lawe of god/ I ame an old man bothe syke & Impotent lokynge dayly for deathe/ what shold it than avaylle me to put my sowle in the daynger of goddes displeasure to my vtter dampnacion for the fauour of any prynce 30 or hyghe estate in this world/ my commyng & beyng here is onoly to se Iustice mynstred accordyng to my Concyence/ As I thoughte therby the matter other good or bade/ And for as myche as I do vnderstand and hauyng perceueraunce/ by the

7 Court] t written over d
interl. thought thoroughly// canc. before knownen
ytyve canc. before defynytyfe
my] MS. world my
canc. after good

15 of canc. before vnto
26 prynce] y written over ei
32 if canc. before As; As interl.

17 case
22 defyn-
31 world/
33 &

allegacionys And negacionys in this matter layed for bothe the parties that the truthe in this Case is very doughtfull to be knownen/ and also that the partye defendaunt woll make no answere ther vnto/ dothe rather Appell frome vs supposyng that
 5 we be not Indifferent/ consideryng the kynges highe dignytie And Auctorytie w^t in thyss his owen realme/ w^{cne} he hathe ouer hys owen subiectes And we beyng his subiectes and hauyng our lyvynges & dignytes in the same/ she thynkythe that we cannot mynester true & Indifferent Iustice for feare of his displeasure/
 10 Therfore to avoyd all thes Ambyguytes and obscure doughtes I entend not to dampne my sowle for no prynce or potentate alyfe/ I wold therfore (god wyllyng) wade no further in this matter onles I haue the Iust oppynyon & Iugement w^t the assent of the Pope/ And suche other of his councell as hathe
 15 more experyence And better learnyng in suche doughtfull lawes than I haue/ [f. 46v] Wherfore I woll adiourne this Court for this tyme accordyng to the order of the Court in Rome frome whence this Court & Iurisdiccon is derevyed/ And if we shold goo further than our commyssion dothe warraunt vs it ware folly
 20 & vayn And myche to our slander & blames and myght be for the same accompted brekers of the orders of the hygher Court frome whence we haue (as I sayd) our orygynall Auctoryties/ w^t that the Court was desolued/ And no more plee holden/ **w^t that/** stept forthe the Duke of Suffolk frome the kyng And by his
 25 commaundemet spake thes wordes w^t a stought & hault countenaunce/ Yt was neuer (q^d he) mery in Englund whilst we had Cardynalles among vs w^{cne} wordes ware setforthe w^t suche a vehement Countenaunce that all men marvelled what he entendyd/ to whome no man made Answere/ The Duke
 30 agayn spake thos wordes in great dispight/ to the w^{cne} wordes my lord Cardynall (perceyvyng his vehemency) soberly made answere And sayd Sir of all men w^tin this Realme ye haue lest cause to disprase or be offendyd w^t Cardynalles/ ffor if I symple Cardynall had not byn/ ye shold haue had at this present no hed
 35 vppon yo^r sholders wherin ye shold haue a tong to make any suche report in dispight of vs who entendyd you no maner of

3 the *interl.*8 lyvynges] v written over u
after more; plee holden] M.S. plee/ holden; holden *interl.* 23 hild *canc.*
31 es *canc.* after lord 25 & *interl.*

displeasure nor we haue geven you any occasion w^t suchē
 dispight to be revenged w^t yo^r hault wordes/ I wold ye knewe
 it my lord that I and my brother here entendyd the kyng and his
 realme as myche honour welthe & quyotnes as ye or any other
 of what estat or degree so cuer he be w^t in this realme/ And wold 5
 as gladly accomplaysshe his lawfull desier As the poorest subiect
 he hathē// But my lord I pray shewe me/ what wold ye do if ye
 ware the kynges Commyssioner in a fforayn Region/ hauyng a
 waytie matter to treate vpon And the conclusion beyng
 doughtfull therof wold ye not Aduertise the kynges ma^{tie} or 10
 euer ye went thorough w^t the same/ yes, yes, my lord I dought
 not/ Therfor I wold ye shold banysshe yo^r hastie malice &
 dispight owt of yo^r hart/ And consider that we be but com-
 myssioners for a tyme/ And can ne may not bye vertue of our
 commyssion procede to Iugeme^t w^tout the knowlege & concen^t 15
 of the chefe hed of our auctoritie/ [f. 47] & havyng his concen^t
 to the same w^{chē} is the pope/ therfore we do no lesse ne other
 wyse than our warraunt wyll beare vs/ And if any man wyll be
 offendyd w^t vs therfore he is an vnwyse man/ wherfore my lord
 hold yo^r peace/ and pacifie yo^r self and frame yo^r tong lyke a 20
 man of honour & of wysdome/ And not to speke so quylky or so
 reprochefully by yo^r frendes ffor ye knowe best what frendshype
 ye haue receyved at my handes/ the w^{chē} yet I neuer reveled to
 no person alyve byfore nowe/ nowther to my glory ne to yo^r
 dishonour/ And therw^t the Duke gave ouer the matter w^tout any 25
 wordes to replie and so departed and folowed after the kyng
 w^{chē} was goon In to Bridwell at the begynnyng of the Dukes
 first wordes//

Thys matter contynued long thus/ And my lord Cardynall
 was in displeasure w^t the kyng for that the matter in his sewte 30
 toke no better Successe/ the fault wherof was ascribed myche to
 my lord/ notw^tstandyng my lord excused hym allwayes by his
 Commyssion w^{chē} gave hym no fferther auctoryte to proced in
 Iugeme^t w^tout knowlege of the pope/ who reserued the same to

3 nor *canc. after I;* and *interl. after I;* & *canc. before the
 canc. before other* 5 estat or *interl.* 9 And *interl.*
 after not 12 b *canc. before ye and you before yo^r*
 therfore] MS. pope therfore; lesse *canc. before lesse*
canc. before at 31 as *canc. before was*

4 other
 10 be *canc.* 17 pope/
 27 at the by

hyme self/ At the last they ware aduertised by ther post that the pope wold take delyberacion in respeyght of Iugeme^t/ vntill his Courtes ware opyned/ w^{ch}e shold not be a fore Bartholmewetyd next/ The kyng consideryng the tyme to be very long or the
 5 matter shold be determyned thought it good to send an newe ambassett to the pope to perswade hym to shewe suche honorable favoure vnto his grace that the matter myght be soner endyd than it was lykly to be/ or elles at the next Court in Rome to ruell the matter ouer accordyng to the kynges request/ To this
 10 ambassett was appoynted Doctor Stephyns than Secretory that after was made Bysshope of wynchester/ who went therther and there taried vntill the latter end of Sommer/ as ye shall here after/ The kyng commaundyd the Quene to be removed owt of the Court And sent vnto an other place/ and his hyghnes roode
 15 in his progresse w^t M^r Anne Boleyn in his company all the grece season/ Yt was so that the Cardynall Campagious made Sewte to be discharged that he [f. 47v] myght retourne agayn to Rome/ And yt chaunced that the Secretory w^{ch}e was the kynges Ambassitor to the Pope was retorne frome Rome/ whervpon
 20 it was determyned that the Cardynall Campagious shold resort to the kyng at Grafton in Northamton shere and that my lord Cardynall shold accompanye hym therther/ where Campagious shold take hys leave of the kyng/ And so they toke ther Iourney therther ward frome the More and came to Grafton vppon the
 25 Sonday in the mornynge/ byfore whos commyng ther rose in the Court dyuers oppynyons that the kyng wold not speke w^t my lord Cardynall and ther vppon ware layed many great wagers/ Thes ij prelates beyng come to the Gattes of the Court where they alighted frome ther horssys/ Supposyng that they shold
 30 haue byn receyved by the hed officers of the howsse (as they ware wont to be) yet for as myche as Cardynall Campagious was but a straynger in effect/ the seyd Officers receyved them and conveyed hym to a lodgyng w^tin the Court w^{ch}e was prepared for hym oonly/ And after my lord had brought hym thus to
 35 his lodgyng/ he left hym ther & departed supposyng to haue

4 next/ The] MS. next The

shewe canc. after hym

MS. Mr.

26 not interl.

5 be canc. after shold

13 after/ The] MS. after The

MS. Mr.

27 be d canc. before be; be interl.

30 offic canc. before hed

6 to

15 M^rs]

21 the canc. after that

goon directly lyke wyse to his Chamber (as he was accustumed to do) and by the way as he was goyng it was told hym that he had no lodgyng appoyned for hym in the Court and beyng ther w^t astonyed/ Sir herre Norreys grome of the stole w^t the kyng came vnto hym (but wether it was by the kynges commaunde- 5 me^t or no I knowe not) and most humbly offered hym hys Chamber for the tyme vntill an other myght some where be provyded for hym/ ffor sir I assure you (q^d he) here is very littill Rome in this howsse skantly sufficient for the kyng/ therfor I beseche yo^r grace to accept myn for the season/ whome my 10 lord thanked for his gentill offer/ And went strayt to his chamber/ where as my lord shyfted his ridyng apparell/ And beyng thus in this Chamber/ dyuers noble persons & gentilmen beyng his loyng ffrendes came to visit hym and to wellcome hym to the Court/ by whome my hed was aduertised of all 15 thynge touchyng the kynges displeasure towrdes hym w^{ch}e dyd hym no small pleasure/ & caused hym to be the more redyly provyded of suffycyent excusys for his defence/ Than was my lord aduertysed by Mr Norres that he shold [f. 48] prepare hym self to geve attendaunce in the Chamber of presence ayenst 20 the kynges commyng thether/ who was disposed there to talke w^t hym and w^t the other Cardynall/ who came to my lordes Chamber and they to gether went in to the seyd Chamber of presence where the lordes of the Councell stode in a Rowe/ in order a long the Chamber/ my lord putting of his Cappe to 25 euery of theme most gently/ And so did they no lesse to hym/ at w^{ch}e tyme the Chamber was so ffrunnysshed w^t noble men, gentilmen, and other worthy persons that oonly expected the meatyng & the countenaunce of the kyng & hym/ & what entartaynme^t the kyng made hym/ Than Immedyatlly after 30 came the kyng in to the Chamber/ and standyng there vnder the Clothe of estate/ my lord kneled down byfore hym who toke my lord by the hand (and so he dyd the other Cardynall) than he

4 grome <i>canc.</i> after Norreys before littill; littill <i>interl.</i> ; suffycyently <i>canc.</i> before sufficient <i>canc.</i> after dyuers written over d before who after who; toke <i>interl.</i>	6 or no <i>interl.</i> 16 touchyng] <i>M.S. touchynges</i> 17-18 the more redyly <i>interl.</i> 19 he <i>interl.</i> 29 at the meatyng <i>canc.</i> before & what 33 toke <i>canc.</i> before by	9 littill <i>canc.</i> 13 of 17 ribly 18 excusys] <i>final s</i> 22 the other Cardynall ca <i>canc.</i> 32 me <i>canc.</i>
---	---	---

toke my lord vppe by bothe Armez & caused hym to stand
 vppe/ whome the kyng receyved wt as amyable a chere as euer he
 dyd/ & called hym a side and led hym by the hand to a
 great wyndowe where he talked wt hym And caused hym to
 5 be Couered/ Than to behold the countenaunce of thos that had
 made ther wagers to the contrarye/ yt wold haue made you to
 smyle and thus ware they all dyssayved (as well worthy for ther
 presumpcyon) the kyng was in long and ernest commynycacion
 wt hym In so myche as I hard the kyng say/ howe can that be/
 10 is not this yo^r owen hand/ and plukked owt frome hys bosome a
 letter or writyng and shewed hym the same/ and as I perceyved
 that it was answerd so by my lord that the kyng had no more to
 say/ in that matter but sayd to hym/ my lord goo to yo^r dynner
 and all my lordes here wyll kepc you company/ And after dynner
 15 I wyll resort to you agayn/ and than we woll commen further wt
 you in this matter/ and so departed/ the kyng dynned that same
 day wt m^{rs} Anne Boleyn in hir chamber (who kept there an
 estate more lyke a quen than a symple mayd) than was a table
 sett vppe in the chamber of presence for my lord & other lordes
 20 of the Councell where they all dyned together/ and sittyn thus
 at dynner commenyng of dyuers [f. 48v] matters/ q^d my lord/ it
 ware well don if the kyng wold send his chaplaysns and bysshoppes
 to ther Cures and benyfices/ yea mary q^d my lord of Norffolk/
 ye say very well/ And so it ware for you to/ I cowld be contentyd
 25 therwt very well/ q^d my lord/ if it ware the kynges pleasure to
 graunt me lycence wt his fauour to goo to my benefice of
 Wynchester/ Nay q^d my lord of Norffolk/ to yo^r benefice of
 yorke where consistithe your greatest honour and charge/ Evyn
 as it shall please the kyng/ q^d my lord/ and so fill in to other
 30 commynycacion/ ffor the lordes ware very lothe to haue hym
 planted so nyghe the kyng as to be at wynchester/ Immedyatlly
 after dynner they fill in secrett talke vntill the wayters had
 dynned/ And as I hard it reported by them that wayted vpon
 the kyng at dynner that M^{rs} Anne Bolleyn was myche offendyd

2 kyng receyved wt] MS. kyng wt; as interl. before amyable
 interl. 7 specyally thos canc. before thus; all interl.

3 &

matter interl.; hym/ my] MS. hym my 17 (wh canc. after chamber

13 in that

18 lyke canc. before more 23 C. canc. after ther 31 ph canc.

before planted

w^t the kyng/ as ferre as she durst/ that he so gentilly entertayned
 my lord/ sayeng as she satt w^t the kyng at dynner in com
 mlynycacion of hym/ Sir/ q^d she/ is it not a marvelous thyng to
 consider what debt & daynger the Cardynall hathe brought you
 in w^t all yo^r subiectes/ howe so swett hart/ q^d the kyng/ ffor sothe/ 5
 sir/ q^d she/ there is not a man w^t in all yo^r realme worthe .v.¹¹
 but he hathe endettyd you vnto hym by hys means (meanyng
 by a lone that the kyng had but late of hys subiectes) well, well,
 q^d the kyng/ as for that ther is in hym no blame/ ffor I knowe
 that matter better than you or any other/ Nay sir/ q^d she/ besides 10
 all that what thynges hathe he wrought w^tin this realme to yo^r
 great slander & dishonor/ there is neuer an noble man w^t in
 this realme that if he had don but half so myche as he hathe don
 but he ware well worthy to lease his hed/ Yf my lord of Norffolk/ 15
 my lord of Suffolk/ my lord my father/ or any other noble person
 w^t in yo^r realme had don myche lesse than he but they shold haue
 lost ther hedes or thys/ whye than I perceyve/ q^d the kyng ye are
 not the Cardynalles frend/ fforsythe sir than/ q^d she/ I haue no
 cause nor any other man that lovythe yo^r grace/ no more haue
 yo^r grace if ye consider well his doynges// at thys tyme the 20
 wayters had taken vppe the table And so they endyd ther
 commynycacion

Nowe ye may perceyve the old malice begynnyth to breake
 owt and newly to kydell the brand that after proved to a great
 ffier/ w^{ch}e was as myche procured by his secrett ennemyes 25
 (touched some thyng byfore) as of hir self/ After all this com
 mlynycacion the dynner thus endyd/ the kyng Rose vppe & went
 Incontynent in to the Chamber of presence where as my lord
 & other of the lordes ware attenyng his commyng/ to whome
 he called my lord/ in to the great [f. 49] wyndowe/ and talked 30
 w^t hym there a while very secretly/ And at the last the kyng
 toke my lord by the hand and led hym in to his privye Chamber
 sytting there in Consultacion w^t hym all a lone/ w^tout any other
 of the lordes of the Councell vntill it was nyght/ the w^{ch}e blanked
 hys ennemyes very sore/ And made them to stere the Coles 35

2 they fill *canc. before* in
 subiectes/] MS. yo^r/ subiectes with subiectes *interl.*
 at; at *interl.* 21 taken *interl.*; dynned *canc. after* taken
 dynner *canc. before* ware

4 brought you *interl.*

5 yo^r
 20 be *canc. before*
 29 sat at
 30 vnto hym *canc. after* lord

beyng in dowght what this matter wold growe onto/ havyng
 nowe non other refuge to trust to/ but to M^{rs} Anne in whome
 was all ther hole & firme trust/ and affiaunce/ w^tout whome they
 droughted all ther enterprice but frustrate & voyde/ Nowe/ was
 5 I fayn beyng warned that my lord had no lodgyng in the Court/
 to ride in to the contrie to provyde for my lord a lodgyng/ So
 that I provyded a lodgyng for hym at an howsse of m^r Empsons
 Called Eston ij^{re} myles frome Grafton/ whether my lord came
 by torche lyght/ it was so late or the kyng & he departyd at whos
 10 departyng the kyng commaundyd hym to resort agayn erley
 in the mornynge to thentent they myght fynyshe ther talke w^{ch}e
 they had than begon & not concludyd/ After ther departyng my
 lord cam to the seyd howsse at Eston to his lodgyng/ where he
 had to supper w^t hym dyuers of his ffrendes of the Court/ And
 15 sytting at Supper in came to hym Doctor Stephyns the
 Secretory late Ambassiter vnto Rome (but to what entent he
 came I knowe not) howebeit my lord toke it that he came bothe
 to dissebell a certyn obeydence & love towardes hym or elles
 to espie hys behauor and to here his Commynycacion at Supper/
 20 Not w^tstandyng my lord bad hym wellcome/ And commaundyd
 hym to sytt down at the table to supper/ w^t whome my lord had
 thys commynycacion w^t hym vnder thys maner/ Mr Secretory
 q^d my lord ye be welcome home owt of Itally whan came ye
 frome Rome/ fforsythe/ q^d he/ I came home allmost a monethe
 25 agoo/ and where/ q^d my lord/ hathe ye byn euer sence/ fforsythe/
 q^d he/ folowyng the Court this progresse/ I han haue ye hunted
 & had good game/ & pastyme/ fforsythe sir/ q^d he/ and so I haue/
 I thanke the kynges ma^{tie}// what good greyhoundes haue ye q^d
 my lord/ I haue some sir/ q^d he/ And thus in huntyng & lyke
 30 [f. 49v] disportes passed they all ther commynycacion at Supper/
 And after Supper my lord and he talked Secretly together vntill
 it was mydnyght or they departed/ The next mornynge my lord
 Rose earely And rode strayt to the Court At whos commynyng the
 kyng was redy to ride wyllyng my lord to resort to the councell
 35 w^t the lordes in his absence And seyd he cowld not tary w^t hym

2 trust to canc. before but 5 to canc. before beyng 7 howsse
 canc. after an 8 as canc. before my 18 an canc. before a;
 hyme interl. 25 agoo/ and] MS. agoo and 29 in canc. after &
 34 to canc. after resort; to interl. before the

commaundyng hym to retorne w^t Cardynall Campagious who
 hadde taken hys leave of the kyng/ where vpon my lord was
 constrainyd to take hys leave also of the kyng/ w^t whome the
 kyng departyd amyably in the syght of all men/ the kynges
 soden departyng in the mornynge was bye the specyall labor of 5
 m^{rs} Anne/ who rode w^t hym oonly to leade hym abought
 bycause he shold not retorne vntill the Cardynalles ware goon
 the w^{ch}e departyd after dynner retornyng agayn towardes the
 more/ the kyng Rode that mornynge to vewe a ground for a
 newe parke w^{ch}e is calld at thys day hartwell parke where m^{rs} 10
 Anne had made provyson for the kynges dynner fearyng his
 retorne or the Cardynalles ware goon/ Th'an rode my lord &
 thother Cardynall after dynner on ther way homward/ And so
 came to the monastory of Seynt Albons/ wherof he hym self
 was Commendatory/ And there lay oon hole day/ And the next 15
 day they rode to the More/ And frome thence the Cardynall
 Campagious toke his Iourney towardes Rome w^t the kynges
 reward (what it was I ame incerteyn)/ Neuerthelesse after his
 departure the kyng was enformed that he Caried w^t hym great
 treasures of my lordes conveyed in great Tonnes notable 20
 Sommes of gold & syluer to Rome/ whether they SurmySED my
 lord wold secretly convey hym self owt of thys realme// In so
 myche that a post was sent spedely after the Cardynall to serche
 hym/ whome they ouertoke at Calice/ where he was stayed
 vntill serche was made/ there was not so myche mony found as 25
 he receyved of the kynges reward/ And so he was dismayssed
 And went his way [f. 50]

After cardynall/ Campagious was thus departed And goon/
 Mihelmas terme drewe nere Ayenst the w^{ch}e my lord retourned
 vnto hys howsse at Westminster And whan the terme began he 30
 went to the hall in suche lyke sort and Iesture As he was wont
 most comenly to do/ And sat in the Chauncery beyng chaun-
 celour/ After w^{ch}e day he neuer sat there more/ the next day he
 taried at home expectyng the commyng of the ij Dukes of

2 where interl. 10 parke canc. after newe; day] MS. day (; harwell
 parke canc. before hartwell parke 13 w canc. before homward
 14 the canc. before to 19 had canc. before Caried 22 of thy
 canc. before realme 32 to do canc. before most 32-33 chauncelour/
 After] MS. chauncelour After 34 of interl. after Dukes

Suffolk & Norffolk w^{ch}e came not that day/ but the next day
 they Came vnto hym to whome they declared/ how the kynges
 pleasure was that he shold surrender and delyuer vppe the great
 Seale in to ther handes And to depart symplely vnto Assher
 5 an howsse (cytuat nyghe hampton Court) belongyng to the
 bysshope of wynchester/ my lord vnderstandyng ther messwage
 demaundyd of them what commyssion they haue to geve hym
 any suche commaundemēt who answered hym agayn/ that they
 ware suffycyent commyssioners in that behalfe hauyng the kynges
 10 commaundemēt by his mouthe so to do/ yet/ q^d he/ that is not
 suffycyent for me/ w^tout a ferther commaundemēt of the kynges
 pleasure/ for the great seale of Englond was delyuerd me by the
 kynges owen person to enjoy dewryng my lyfe w^t the mynistracion
 15 of the office & highe Roome of Chauncellershype of
 England ffor my sewertie wherof/ I haue the kynges letters
 patentes to shewe/ w^{ch}e matter was greatly debated bytwen the
 Dukes & hym/ w^t many stowt wordes bytwen them/ whos
 wordes & chekkes he toke in pacience for the tyme/ In so myche
 that the Dukes ware fayn to departe agayn w^tout ther purpose
 20 at that present And retorne agayn vnto wyndesore to the kyng/
 And what report they made I cannot tell howbeit the next day
 they came agayn frome the kyng bryngyng w^t theme the kynges
 letters/ After the receypte & redyng of the same/ by my lord
 w^{ch}e was don w^t myche reuerence/ he delyuerd vnto them the
 25 great Sealle/ contentyd to obey the kynges highe commaundemēt/
 And seyng that the kynges pleasure was to take hys howsse w^t
 the contentes/ was well pleased sympley to depart to Assher
 takyng no thyng but only some provysion for his howsse/ And
 after long talke bytwen the Dukes & hym/ they departed w^t
 30 the great Seale/ of Englond to wyndesore vnto the kyng/
 [f. 50v] Than went my lord and Called all officers in euery office
 in his howsse byfore hym to take accompte of all suche stufte
 as they had in charge/ And in his Gallery there was sett dyuers
 tables where vpon a great nomber of Riche stufte of sylke in

8 or <i>canc.</i> before who	9 fo <i>canc.</i> after commyssioners	10 comm-
<i>aundemēt</i>] t frayed away at edge of page	11 by <i>canc.</i> before of;	11 by <i>canc.</i> before of;
interl.	15 my interl.	28 only
<i>interl. and canc. after but; oon canc. before only; only interl.</i>	18 toke <i>canc.</i> before toke	31 Tha
<i>canc. before Than</i>	32 take <i>interl.</i>	<i>canc.</i> before

hole peces of all Colours/ as veluett/ Satten/ Damaske/ Caffa/
Taffata/ Grograyn/ Sarcenet/ And of other not in my remem-
braunce/ Also there lay a M¹ peces of fynne holand Clothe/
wheroft I hard hym say after ward ther was V^cth peces therof
conveyed bothe frome the kyng & hym/ ffurthermore ther was 5
also the walles of the gallery hanged w^t clothes of gold & tissue
of dyuers makynges and clothe of syluer in lykewyse/ on bothe
the sydes and riche clothes of Baudkyn of dyuers Colours/ ther
hong also the richest Sewtes of Coopes of his owen provisyon
w^{ch}e he caused to be made for his Colleges of Oxford & Ipsew^{ch}e/ 10
that euer I sawe in Englond/ Than had he in ij Chambers adioyn-
yng to the Gallery/ thoon called the gylt Chamber/ and thother
called most Comenly the Councell chamber/ wherin ware sett in
eche ij brode & long tables vpon trestelles where vpon was
sett such a nomber of plate of all sortes/ as ware all most 15
Incredyble/ In the gylt Chamber was sett owt vpon the tables
nothyng but all gylt plate/ And vpon a Cupbord standyng vnder
a wyndowe/ was garnysshed all holy w^t plate of cleane gold
wheroft Somme was sett w^t peerle & riche stones/ And in the
Councell chamber was sett all wyght plate & parcell gylt/ And 20
vnder the tables in bothe the Chambers ware sett baskettes w^t
old plate w^{ch}e was not estemed but for broken plate & old not
worthy to be occupied/ And bokes conteyning the valewe &
wayte of euery parcell layed by them/ redy to be sen/ And so was
also bokes sett by all maner of Stiffe conteyning the contentes 25
of euery thyng/ Thus euery thyng beyng brought in good order
& furnysshed he gave the charge of the delyuere therof (vnto the
kyng) to euery officer w^t in his office/ of suche stiffe as they had
byfore in charge/ by Indenture/ of euery parcell/ ffor the order
of his howsse was suche as that euery Officer was charged by 30
Indenture w^t all suche parcelles as belonged to ther office
[f. 51]

Than all thyng/ beyng ordered as it is byfore rehersed my lord
prepared hym to depart by water/ And byfore his departyng

1 Colours] MS. Colourrs 5 hym/ ffurthermore] MS. hym
ffurthermore 11 sawe canc. before sawe 14 sir canc. before was
18 all interl. and canc. before w^t 23 conteyned canc. before conteynynge;
conteynynge] MS. conteyng 26 thyng] g written over k; beyng interl.
31 of canc. before w^t; w^t interl.

he commaundyd sir w^m Gascoyn his treasurer to se thos thynges
 byfore remembred delyuerd savely to the kyng at his repayer/
 that don the seyd sir willam seyd vnto my lord/ Sir I ame sory
 for yo^r grace/ for I vnderstand ye shall goo strayt way to the
 5 tower// Ys this the good Comfort and councell q^d my lord/ that
 ye can geve yo^r m^r in aduersitie/ yt hathe byn allwayes yo^r
 naturall Inclynacion to be very light of Credytt and myche more
 lighter in reportyng of falce newes/ I wold ye shold knowe sir
 w^m and all other suche blasfemers that it is no thyng more falce
 10 than that/ ffor I neuer (thankes be to god) deserued by no wayes
 to come there/ vnder any arrest/ althoughe it hathe pleased the
 kyng to take my howse redy furnysshed for his pleasure at this
 tyme/ I wold all the world knewe and so I confesse to haue no
 thyng other riches, honour, or dignyty that hathe not growen of
 15 hymē & by hymē therfore it is my very dewtie to surrender the
 same to hymē agayn as his very owen w^t all my hart/ or elles
 I ware an onkynd seruaunt/ therfore goo yo^r wayes & geve good
 attendaunce vnto your charge that no thyng be embeselled/ And
 therw^t all he made hymē redy to departe w^t all his gentilmen &
 20 yomen w^{c̄he} was no small nombre/ And toke his barge at his
 privye stayers And so went by water vnto Putney where all his
 horsys wayted his Commyng/ And at the takyng of his barge ther
 was no lesse than a M^l bottes full of men & women of the Citie
 of london waffetyng vppe & down in temmes expectyng my
 25 lordes departyng/ supposyng that he shold haue goon directly
 frome thence to the tower/ where at they reioysed/ And I dare
 be bold to sey that the most part neuer receyved dammage at his
 handes// **O waueryng/** and newfangled multitude ys it not a
 wonder to consider the inconstant mutabilitie/ of thys oncertyn
 30 world/ the comen peple allwayes desireng alteracions & newel-
 ties of thynges for the strayngenes of the case/ [f. 51v] w^{c̄he} after
 tournyth them to small profett & commodytie/ ffor if the sequell
 of this matter be well considered & digested ye shall vnderstand
 that they had small cause to tryhumphe at his fall/ what hathe

1 take *canc.* after tocanc. before *qd*

and me before to

4 ye shall shall *canc.* before ye8 of *canc.* before in10 by *interl.*

5 ye can

13 tha

17 an *interl.*18 therw^t *canc.* after And

22 at

interl.

desireng] *MS.* desirenges19 the *canc.* after all; his *interl.*29 se the *canc.* before consider30 comen] *MS.* coen;31 for *canc.* before of thynges

succedyd all wyse men dothe knowe/ And the Comen sort of them
hathe felt/ Therfore to grudge or wonder at it/ suerly ware
but folly/ To study a redresse/ I se not howe it can be holpen/
ffor the Inclynacion and the naturall disposicion of Englisshe-
men/ is & hathe allways ben to desier alteracion of officers w^{ch}e 5
hathe byn thorougly fed w^t long contynuaunce in ther romes/
w^t suffycyent riches & possessions/ And they beyng putt owt/
than commythe an other hongery and a leane officer in his place
that bytthy the nerer the bone than the old/ So the pepill be euer
pild & pold w^t hongery dogges/ thorough ther owen desier of 10
chaynge of newe officers/ nature hathe so wrought in the people
that it woll not be redressed/ wherfore I cannot se but allways
men in auctorytie be disdayned w^t the comen sort of men/ And
suche most of all/ that Iustly mynestrethe equytie to all men
Indifferently/ ffor where they please some oon w^{ch}e receyveth 15
the benefit of the lawe at his handes accordyng to Iustice/ there
dothe they In lykewyse displease the contrary partie who
supposith to sustayn great wrong/ where they haue equyte &
right/ Thus all good Iusticers be allwayes in contempte w^t some/
for executyng of Indifferentye/ and yet suche mynsters must 20
be/ ffor if there shold be no mynsters of Justice/ the world
shold rone full of error and Abhomynacion and no good order
kept ne quyotnes among the people/ there is no good man but
he wyll commend suche Iusticers as dealyth vpp rightly in ther
romes and reioyse at ther contynuaunce & not at ther fall/ And 25
whether this be true or no/ I put me to the Iugement of all discret
persons// nowe lett vs leave & begyn agayn where we left//
Whan he was/ w^t all his trayn arryved & londed at Putnethe he
toke his mewle and euery man his horsse/ And settyng forthe
not past the lengthe of a payer of Garden buttes he aspied a man 30
come ridyng empost down the hyll in Putnethe town/ de-
maundyng of his ffootmen who they thought it shold be/ And
they answered agayn and sayd/ that they supposed it shold be
sir herre Norres/ [f. 52] And by & by he came to my lord &

1 succedyd canc. before succedyd and/all before all; Comen] MS. Coen 5 &
offices w^{ch}e hathe canc. after officers 6. lon canc. after long 8 an other
interl.; offi canc. before and 9 So they .eu canc. after old/ 13 comen]
MS. coen 15 where interl.; there interl. and canc. after where 23 o of
quyotnes interl. 24 righely canc. before rightly; rightly interl. 30 a pay
canc. before the 32 shold canc. before shold 34 No canc. before Norres

salutyd hyme and sayd that the kynges mat^{ie} had hyme commendyd to his grace/ and willyd hyme in any wyse to be of good chere/ for he was as myche in his highenes fauor as euer he was/ And so shalbe/ and in tokyn therof/ he delyuerd hyme a ryng of
 5 gold wt a riche stone w^che ryng he knewe very well for it was allwayes the prevye tokyn bytwen the kyng & hym whan so euer the kyng wold haue any specyall matter dispatched At his handes/ And seyd ferthermore that the kyng commaundyd hyme to be of good chere & take no thought for he shold not laken/ And
 10 althoughe the kyng hathe delt wt you onkyndly as ye supposse/ he saythe that it is for no displeasure that he beryth you/ but oonly to sattysfie more the myndes of some (w^che he knowyth be not yo^r frendes)/ than for any indyggnacion/ And also ye knowe right well that he is able to recompence you wt twyse as myche
 15 as yo^r goodes amountithe vnto/ and all this he bad me that I shold shewe you/ therfore sir take pacience/ And for my part I trust to se you in better estate than euer ye ware/ But whan he hard m^r Norres reherce all the good & comfortable wordes of the kyng/ he quykly lyghted frome hys mewle/ all alone as though
 20 he had byn the yongest person among vs/ And in contynent kneled down in the dyrte/ vppon bothe his knes holdyng vppe his handes for Ioye/ Mr Norres perceyvyng hym so quykly frome his mewle vppon the ground mused & was astoned therwt and therwt he allyghted also and kneled by hymе en-
 25 bracyng hyme in his armez & axed hyme howe he dyd callyng vppon hyme to Credyt his messwage/ Mr Norres/ q^d he/ whan I consider yo^r comfortable & Ioyfull newes I can do no lesse than to reioyse/ ffor the sodden Ioy surmounted my memory haueng no respect nowther to the place or tyme/ but thought it
 30 my very bounden dewtie to render thankes to god my maker and to the kyng my souerayn lord & m^r/ who hathe sent me such comfort/ in the very place where I receyved the same/ and talkyng wt m^r Norres vppon his knees in the myer/ he wold haue pulled of his vnder Cappe of veluett but he cowld not [f. 52v]

1 the] MS. the;/ kynges had hyme to canc. before kynges 5 the canc.
 after was 11 it interl. 16 you interl. 19 ri canc.
 after quykly; horsse canc. before mewle 21 dust dirr canc. before dyrte
 23 mys canc. before & 24 allyghted canc. before allyghted; allyghted
 interl. 34 vnder interl.

vndo the knott vnder his chyne/ wherfore w^t violence/ he rent
 the laces & pulled it frome his hed and so kneled barehedyd/
 And that don he couered agayn his hed and arose & wold haue
 mounted his mewle but he cowld not mount agayn w^t suche
 agilitie as he lighted byfore where his footmen had as myche a 5
 do to sett hym in his saddell as they could haue/ Than roode he
 forthe vppe the hill in the town talkyng w^t m^r Norres/ And
 whane he came vpon Putnethe hethe/ M^r Norres toke hys
 leave & wold haue departed/ than/ q^d my lord/ vnto hym/ 10
 Gentill Norres if I ware lord of a realme thoon half therof ware
 insufficient a reward to geve you for yo^r paynnes and good
 comfortable newes/ But good M^r Norres consider w^t me that
 I haue no thyng left me but my clothes on my baccke/ therfore
 I desier you to take this small reward of my handes (the w^che was
 a littyll chayn of gold made lyke a bottell chayn) w^t a crosse of 15
 gold hangyng there at/ wherin was a pece of the holy crosse
 (w^che he ware contynually abought hys necke next his skyn) And
 sayd further more/ I assure you m^r Norres/ that whan I was in
 prospertye/ althoughe it seme but small in valewe/ yet I wold
 not gladly haue departid w^t it for the valewe of a M^l 11/ Therfore 20
 I beseche you take it in gree and where it abought yo^r necke for
 my sake/ And as often as ye shall happen to loke vpon it/ haue
 me in remembraunce vnto the kynges ma^te as opportunytie
 shall serue you/ vnto whos highnes and Clemencye I desyer you
 to haue me most lowely commendyd/ ffor whos Charitable 25
 disposicion towards me I can do no thyng but oonly mynyster
 my prayer vnto god for the preseruacion of his Royall estate
 long to reygn in honour helthe & quyot lyfe/ I ame hys obedient,
 subiect, vassayle, & poore chapleyn And so do entend (god
 willyng) to be/ duryng my lyfe/ Accomptyng that of my selfe 30
 I ame of no estymacion nor of no substaunce but oonly by hym
 & of hym/ whome I love better than my self/ and hathe Iustly
 & truly serued to the best of my grosse wytt/ And w^t that he toke
 m^r Norres by the hand and bad hym farewell/ And beyng not

2 barehedyd *canc. before* barehedyd 5 & *canc. before* as he; byfore interl.;
 had *canc. before* had 6 haue/ Than] MS. haue Than 13 bag
canc. before baccke 16 on *canc. before* there 20 haue interl.
 21 in interl. 25 haue me most] MS. haue most 32 my *canc.*
 after than 34 f. re *canc. after* not

goon but a small distaunce/ he retourned & called m^r Norres
 agayn/ And whan he was retorne (he sayd vnto hym) I am
 sory q^d he/ that I haue no condygn token to send to the kyng/
 but if ye wold at this my request present the kyng w^t this poore
 5 foole/ I trust hys hyghnes wold accept [f. 53] hym well/ suerly
 for a noble mans pleasure he is worthe a M^l ll/ so M^r Norres
 toke the ffoole w^t hym/ w^t whome my lord was fayn to send vj
 of tall yomen w^t hym to conduct & convey the foole to the
 Court/ ffor the poore foole toke on & fired so in suche a rage
 10 whan he sawe that he must nedes departe frome my lord/ yet
 notw^tstandyng they conveyed hym w^t m^r Norres to the Court
 where the kyng receyved hym most gladly///

After the departure/ of M^r Norres w^t hys token to the kyng
 my lord Roode strayt to Assher an howsse appurteynynge vnto
 15 the bysshopriche of wynchester/ Cituat w^t in the Countie of
 Surrey not ferre frome hampton Court/ where my lord and his
 ffamely contynued the space of iij^{re} or iiij^{or} wekes w^tout beddes/
 shetes table clothes/ Cuppes/ and disshes to eate our meate/ or
 to lye in/ howbeit there was good provision of all kynd of
 20 victualles and of drynk bothe bere & wyn wheroft ther was
 sufficient & plentie// My lord was of necessite compelled to
 borowe of the bysshope of Carlylle and of sir Thomas Arundell
 bothe disshes to eate hys meate in And plate to drynke in and
 also lynnyn clothes/ to occupie/ And thus contynued he in thys
 25 straynge estate vntill the feast of alhaloutyd was past/ **Yt**
chaunced me vpon alhalou day in the mornynge to come
 there in to the great chamber to geve myn attendaunce where
 I found master Cromwell leanyng in the great wyndowe w^t a
 prymar in his hand sayeng of our lady mattens (w^{ch}e had byn
 30 synce a very straynge syght) he prayed not more earnestly/ than
 the teares distilled frome his eyes/ whome I bad god morowe/
 And w^t that I perceyved the teares vpon his chekes/ to whome
 I seyd/ wye m^r Cromwell what meanyth all this yo^r sorowe// ys

5 for canc. before suerly

6 noble] MS. noble noble; M^l ll/ so] MS.M^l ll so8 w^t canc. before to the

after whan

wynchester

MS. compelled

in interl.

31 I interl.

10 sh canc. 15 bysshopriche of wynchester/] MS. bysshopriche/ of

18 Cuppes canc. before Cuppes

24 lynnyn canc. before lynnyn; g canc. after lynnyn; he

25 hall all canc. before the

33 Cromweil] w written over ll

21 compelled]

28 found interl.

my lord in any daynger for whome ye lament thus/ or is it for
any losse that ye haue susteyned by any mysadventure/ Nay,
nay/ q^d he/ it is my onhappie Adventure/ w^{che} ame lyke to losse
all that I haue travelled for all the dayes of my lyfe for doyng of
my mayster trwe & [f. 53^v] dyligent seruyce/ why sir/ q^d I/ 5
I trust ye be to wyse to commyt any thyng by my lordes com-
maundement other wyse than ye owght to do of right wheroft ye
haue any cause to dought/ of losse of yo^r goodes/ well, well, q^d
he/ I cannot tell but all thynges (I se byfore myn eyes) is as it is
taken/ And thys I vnderstand right well/ that I ame in disdayn 10
wt most men/ for my m^r sake and surly wtout Iust cause/ how-
beit an yll name oons gotten wyll not lightly be put a way/ I
neuer had any promocyon by my lord to thencrease of my
lyvyng/ And thus myche wyll I say to you/ that I do entend (god
wylyng) this after none whan my lord hathe dyned to ride to 15
london and so to the Court/ where I wyll other make or marre or
I come agayn/ I wyll put my self in the prese to se what any man
is Able to lay to my charge of ontrouthe or mysdemeanor/
Mary sir/ q^d I/ In so doyng/ in my conceyt ye shall do very well
& wysely (besechyng god to be yo^r gwyde & send you good luke) 20
evyn as I wold my self and wt that I was called in to the Closett
to se & prepare all thyng redy for my lord/ who entendieth that
day to sey masse there hymself And so I dyd/ And than my lord
came thereth w^t his Chapleyen/ oon doctor Marshall sayeng first
his mattens & herd ij masses on his knees/ And than after he was 25
confessed he hym self seyd masse/ And whan he had ffynesshed
masse & all his dyvyn seruyce/ retorneid in to his chamber/ where
he dynned among dyuers of his doctors where as m^r Cromwell
dynned also/ And sittynge at dynner it chaunced that my lord
commendyd the true & faythfull seruyce of his gentilmen & 30
yomen wher vpon m^r Cromwell toke an occasion to say to my
lord that in concyence he owght to consider ther treuthe & loyall
seruyce/ that they dide hym in this his present necessitie w^{che}
neuer forsakyth hym in all his troble/ yt shall be well don

4 all canc. before all that

after & 8 any canc. after dought/ of; well canc. before first well; first well;

interl.

interl.

before his

5 a single indecipherable letter canc.

18 able canc. before Able 19 Mary] r written over y; in

20) canc. before & send 26 self interl. 34 in canc.

therfore sayd he/ for yo^r grace to caulle theme byfore you/ all
 thes yo^r most worthy gentilmen & right honest yomen/ And lett
 them vnderstand that ye right well consider ther pacience,
 treuthe & faythfulness/ and than geve them yo^r commendacion
 5 w^t good wordes & thankes w^che shalbe to them great [f. 54]
 corage to sustayn yo^r myshape in pacient mystery And to spend
 ther lyfe And substaunce in yo^r seruyce/ Alas Thomas/ q^d my
 lord/ vnto hyme ye knowe I haue no thyng to geve theme/ And
 wordes w^tout deades be not often well taken ffor if I had as I
 10 haue had of late/ I wold depart w^t them so ffrankly As they
 shold be well content but no thyng hathe no savour And I ame
 a shamed and also sory that I ame not able to requyte ther
 faythfull seruyce/ And althoughe I haue cause to reioyse con-
 syderyng the ffidelite that I perceyve in the nomber of my
 15 seruauntes who wyll not departe frome me in my myserable
 estate but be as dyligent, obcdyent And seruysable abought me
 as they ware in my great tryhumphant glorie yet do I lament
 agayn the want of substaunce/ to distribut among them/ why sir
 q^d m^r Cromwell/ haue ye not here a nomber of chapleyns to
 20 whome ye haue departed very liberally w^t spertyuall promo-
 cions/ In so myche as Somme may dispend by yo^r graces prefer-
 ment A M¹ markes by the yere And Some .V.Cth markes And
 some more and some lesse/ ye haue no oon chapleyn w^t in all
 yo^r howsse or belongyng vnto you but he may dispend at the
 25 least well by yo^r procuremet^t or preferment/ iij^c markes/ yerely
 who had all the profettes and avuntages at yo^r handes And thes
 yo^r seruauntes non at all And yet hathe yo^r poor seruauntes taken
 myche more payn for you in oon day than all yo^r Idell chapleyns
 hathe don in a yere/ therfore if they woll not freely and frankeley
 30 consider yo^r liberalitie/ And depart w^t you of the same goodes
 gotten in yo^r seruyce/ nowe in yo^r great Indygence & necessitie/
 it is pitie that they lyve/ And all the world woll haue them in
 Indignacion & hatred for ther abhomynable Ingratytude to ther
 m^r & lord/ I thynke no lesse/ Thomas/ q^d my lord/ wherfore

1 caulle *canc.* before caulle; all *interl.*8 knowe *canc.* before knowe13-14 consyderyng *interl.*14 to consyder *canc.* before the ffidelite22 C *canc.* after Some26 the *interl.*; and avuntages *interl.*; and *canc.* before

at.

27 non at all *interl.*32 lyfe *canc.* before lyve

33 abhomynable]

MS. abhomynable

cause all my seruauntes to be callyd & to assemble w^tout in my great chamber After dynner and se them stand in order/ And I wyll declare vnto them my mynd accordyng to yo^r advise/ After that the bordes end was taken vppe Mr Cromewell came to me & sayd/ hard ye not what my lord sayd evyn [f. 54v] nowe/ 5 yes sir/ q^d I/ that I dyd/ well than/ q^d he/ assemble all my lordes seruauntes vppe in to the great chamber/ And so I did and whan they ware all there assembled I assigned all the gentilmen to stand on the right side of the chamber/ And the yomen on the lyft side/ And at the last my lord came therethen 10 appareld in a whyht rochett vpon a violett gown of clothe lyke a bysshope who went strayt in to the great wyndowe/ **Standynge there/** a while and his chapleyns abought hym beholdingyn the nomber of his seruauntes devydyd in ij partes cowld not speke vnto them for tendernes of his hart the floode of 15 teares that distilled frome his eyes declared no lesse/ the w^che perceyved by his seruauntes caused the fountayns of water to Gushe owt of ther faythfull hertes down ther chekes in suche abounding/ as it wold cause a Cruell hart to lament/ at the last after he had torned his face to the wall & wyped his eyes w^t his 20 hand kercheffe he spake to them after this sort in effect/// **Most/** faythfull gentilmen/ and trewe hartyd yomen/ I do not onoly lament yo^r personal presence abought me/ but I do lament my negligent Ingratitude towardes you all/ on my behalf/ In whome hathe byn a great default that in my prosperytie hathe not don 25 for you/ as I myght haue don other in word or deade w^che was than in my power to do/ But than I knewe not my Ioyelles & specyall treasures that I had of you (my faythfull seruauntes) in my howsse but nowe approved experiance/ hathe taught me/ and w^t the eyes of my disreccsion (w^che byfore ware hyd) do 30 perceyve full well the same/ there was neuer thynge that repente the me more that euer I dyd than dothe the remembraunce

3 accordyng canc. before accordyng 5 nowe canc. after evyn 8 whan
interl. 10 ru canc. before yomen and on before on 14 demvydyd canc.
before devydyd 15 cowld canc. before cowld 15-16 of canc. before
of teares 18 first ther and faythfull interl.; faythe canc. before faythfull
19 lament/at] MS. lament at 21 in canc. before after; after interl.
22 lament canc. before onoly 24 who canc. after behalf/ 25 not
interl. 29 ap of approved interl. 30 byfore canc. before
byfore 31 same/ there] MS. same there

of my oblyvyous negligence & ongentilnes that I haue
 not promoted or preferred you to condygn Romes & prefer-
 mentes accordyng to yo^r demerites/ howebeit it is not onknowen
 vnto you all that I was not so well furnysshed of temperall
 5 avaunceme^{tes} as I was of spertyuall prefermentes/ And if I shold
 haue promoted you to any of the kynges offices & Romes/ than
 shold I haue encurred the Indignacion of the kynges seruauntes/
 who wold not [f. 55] myche lett to report in euery place behynd
 my bake that there cowld no office or rome of the kynges gyft
 10 eskafe the Cardynall & his seruauntes/ And thus shold I incurre
 the obloquye & slander byfore all the hole world/ But nowe it
 is come to this passe that it hathe pleased the kyng to take all
 that euer I haue in to his possession/ So that I haue no thyng
 laft me but my bare clothes vpon my bake the w^{ch}e be but
 15 symple in comparyson to thos that ye haue seen me haue or this/
 howebet if they may do you any good or pleasure/ I wold not
 stykke to devyde them among you/ yea/ and the skyne of my
 bake if it myght countervaylle any thyng in valewe among you/
 but good gentilmen & yomen my trusty & faythfull seruauntes/
 20 of whome no prynce hathe the lyke/ in my oppynyon/ I most
 hartely requyer you to take w^t me some pacience a littill whyle/
 ffor I dought not but that the kyng consideryng the offence
 suggested ayenst me by my mortall ennemyes to be of small
 effect woll shortly I dought not restore me agayn to my lyvynge
 25 so that I shall be more able to devyd some part therof yerely
 among you/ wherof ye shalbe well assured/ ffor the surplusage
 of my revenues what so euer shall remayn at the determinacion
 of my accomptes/ shalbe (god wylling) distributed among you/
 ffor I woll neuer hereafter esteme the goodes & riches of this
 30 oncertyn world but as a vayn thyng/ more than shalbe sufficient
 for the mayntenaunce of myn estate & dignytie that god hathe
 or shall call me vnto in this world duryng my lyfe/ And if the
 kyng do not thus shortly restore me/ than woll I se you bestowed
 accordyng to yo^r owen requestes/ and wright for you owther to
 35 the kyng or to any other noble person w^t in this Realme to
 reteyn you in to seruyce/ for I dought not but that the kyng or

2 pro canc. before Romes 7 shold interl. 8 place canc. before
 place 18 in valewe interl. 23 me interl. 25 therof
 interl. 31 god interl.

any noble man or worthy gentilman of this Realme woll credytt
 my letter in yo^r commendacion/ Therfore in the meane tyme/
 myn advyse is that ye repayer home to yo^r wifes (suche as hathe
 any) And suche among you as hathe none to take thys tyme to
 visett yo^r parentes and frendes in the Contrie/ Ther is none of 5
 you all but oons in a yere wold requyer licence/ [f. 55v] to visit
 yo^r wifes & other of yo^r frendes/ take this tyme (I pray you) in
 respect therof/ And at yo^r retourne I wyll not refuse you if I
 shold begge wt you/ I consider that the seruyce of my howsse
 hathe byn suche and of suche a sort that ye be not meate or apte 10
 to serue no man vnder the degree of a kyng/ Therfore I wold
 whishe you to serue no man but the kyng/ who I ame suer wyll
 not reiect you/ Therfore I desier you to take yo^r pleasures for a
 monyth and than ye may come agayn vnto me/ And I trust by 15
 that tyme the kyng mat^{le} wyll extend hys clemency vppon me/
 Sir q^d m^r Cromwell/ there is dyuers of thes your yomen that
 wold be glad to se ther ffrendes but they lake mony/ therfore
 here is dyuers of yo^r Chaplens/ who hathe receyved at yo^r
 handes great benefices & hige dignytes/ lett them therfore nowe
 shewe them selfes vnto you as they are bound by all humanityie 20
 to do/ I thynke ther honestie & charite ys not so slender and
 voyed of grace that they wold not se you lake where they may
 helpe to refresshe you/ And for my part Allthoughe I haue not
 receyved of yo^r graces gyft any oon penny towardes thencrese of 25
 my yerely lyvynge yet wyll I departe wt you this towardes the
 dispetche of yo^r seruauntes (And delyuerd hyme v^{ll} in gold)
 And nowe lett vs se what yo^r chapleyns wyll do/ I thynke they
 wyll departe wt you myche more than I haue don/ who be more
 able to geve you a pound than I oon penny/ Goo to maysters q^d 30
 he to the Chapleyns/ In so myche as some gave hymē/ x^{ll}/ Some 30
 x^{en} marc/ Some C^s/ And so some more and Some lesse as at that
 tyme ther powers did extend/ wherby my lord Receyved among
 theme as myche mony of ther liberalitie as he gave to eche of his
 yomen a quarters wages & bord wages for a monyth/ And they

1 worthy interl.

2 you canc. before my

3 I canc. before

my

4 hathe] MS. hahe

13 you/

Therfore] MS. you Therfore

7 tyme interl.

16 yomen] MS. yoman

interl.

28 two indecipherable letters canc. before I

20 are

before Receyved

before I

32 g canc.

101153

departed down in to the hall/ where some determyned to goo to
 ther frendes/ And some sayd that they wold not departe frome
 my lord vntill they myght se hym in better estate/ My lord
 retorne in to his chamber lamentyng the departure frome his
 5 seruauntes makynge his mone vnto m^r Cromwell who comforted
 hym the best he cowld/ And desired my lord to geve hym
 leave to goo to london where he wold other make or marre or he
 came agayn (w^{ch}e was allwayes his comen sayeng) than after long
 Commynycacion w^t my lord in secret he departed [f. 56] and
 10 toke his horsse and Rode to london at whos departyng I was bye/
 whome he bade farewell/ And sayd/ ye shall here shortly of me
 And if I sped well I wyll not fayle to be here agayn w^t in thes ij
 dayes/ And so I toke my leave of hym/ And he rode forthe on
 his Iourney/ Sir Rafe Sadler (nowe knyght) was than his Clarke/
 15 and rode w^t hym//

After that my lord had Supped that nyght (beyng allhalou
 day at nyght) And all men goon to bed/ yt chaunced so abought
 mydnyght/ that oon of the Porters came vnto my chamber doore
 And there knokked/ And wakyng of me perceyved who it was/
 20 Axed hym what he wold haue/ that tyme of the nyght/ sir q^d
 the porter/ there is a great nomber of horsse men at the gate
 that wold come In/ sayeng to me that it is sir Iohn Russell/
 And so it apperys to me by his voyce/ what is yo^r pleasure that
 I shall doo/ Mary q^d I/ goo down agayn And make a great fier
 25 in yo^r lodge ayenst I come to drye them/ for it rayned all that
 nyght the sorest that it dyd all that yere byfore/ than I Roose and
 put on my nyght gown/ And came to the gattes And asked who
 was there/ w^t that m^r Russell spake whome I knewe by his
 voyce/ And than I caused the porters to opyn the gattes and lett
 30 them all In/ who ware wette to the skyn desyryng m^r Russell to
 goo in to the loge to the fier/ And he shewed me that he wase
 come frome the kyng/ vnto my lord in messwage w^t whome he
 requyred me to speke/ Sir/ q^d I/ I trust yo^r newes be good/ yea
 I promyse you on my fidelitie/ q^d he/ And so I pray you showe
 35 hym/ I haue brought hym suche newes that wyll please hym

3 my lord *interl.* 8 comen] MS. coen 10 his leave *canc. before his*
 12 ye shall here of me *canc. before* I wyll 21 is *interl.* 23 it *canc. before* yo^r
 25 drye *interl.*; dry *canc. before* them 26 r *canc. after* the; roose *canc. before*
 Roose 31 me *interl.* 35 hym *canc. before* hym/ I *and* you *before* suche

right well/ Than will I goo q^d I/ and wake hymē/ And cause
hymē to rise/ I went Incontynent to my lordes chamber doore/
and waked my lord who asked me what I wold haue/ Sir sayd I/
to shewe you that sir Iohn Russell is come frome the kyng who
is desirous to speke w^t you/ And than he called vppe oon of his 5
gromes to lett me In/ And beyng w^t in/ I told hymē what a
Iourney M^r Russell had that nyght/ I pray god/ q^d he/ all be for
the best/ [f. 56v] yes sir q^d I/ he shewed me/ And so bad me tell
you that he had brought you suchē newes as ye woll greatly
reioyse there at/ well than/ q^d he/ god be praysed and wellcome 10
be his grace/ goo ye and fetche hymē vnto me/ And be that tyme
I woll be redy to talke w^t hymē/ than I retorne frome hymē to
the logge/ And brought m^r Russhell frome thence to my lord/
who had cast on his nyght gown And whan m^r Russell was come
in to his presence/ he most humbly Reuerencyd hymē vppon his 15
knee/ whome my lord bowed down and toke hymē vppe and
bad hymē welcome/ Sir q^d he the kyng commendyth hymē vnto
you/ And delyuerd hymē a great Ryng of gold w^t a Turkkas for
a tokyn/ And willyd you to be of good chere/ who lovythe you
as well as euer he dide/ and is not a littill disquyoted for yo^r 20
troble/ whos mynd is full of yo^r remembraunce/ In so myche as
his grace byfore he satt to Supper called me vnto hymē/ And
commaundyd me to take this Iourney secretly to visit you to yo^r
comfort the best of my power/ And sir if it please yo^r grace I
haue hade this nyght the sorest Iourney for so littill a way that 25
euer I had to my remembraunce/ My lord thanked hymē for his
paynnes and good newes/ And demaundyd of hymē if he had
Supped/ And he seyd nay/ well than q^d my lord to me/ Cause
the Cookes to provyd some mete for hymē/ And cause a
chamber w^t a good ffier to be mad redy for hymē that he may 30
take hys rest a while vppon a bed/ all w^{ch}e commaundemēt I
fulfylled/ And in the mean tyme my lord & m^r Russell ware in
very secrett commynycacion/ And in fynne/ M^r Russell went

5 you *interl.* 7 he *canc. before M^r* 8 yees *canc. after best/*
12 hymē to *interl.*; my lord *interl. and canc. after hymē* 14 gere *canc.*
before nyght; nyght] MS. / nyght 16 vppe *interl.* 20 a littill *interl.*
21 troble] *MS. trobled* 22 he *canc. before called* 25 that *canc.*
before that 29 s *canc. before mete* 31 commaundemēt] *MS.*
commaundet

to his chamber takyng his leave of my lord for all nyght/ And sayd he wold not tary but a while for he wold (god wyllyng) be at the Court at Gnew^{che} agayn byfore day/ ffor he wold not for any thyng that it ware knownen his beyng w^t my lord that 5 night/ And so beyng in his chamber havyng a small repast/ Rested hym a while vpon a bedd whilste his seruauntes Supped & dried them selfes by the ffier/ [f. 57] And than incontynent he roode a waye w^t sped to the Court/ And shortly after hys beyng there/ my lord was restored agayn vnto plenty of 10 howssholt stuff, vessell and plate/ And of all thynges necessary some part so that he was indifferently ffurnysshed muche better than he was of latte/ And yet not so abounding as the kynges pleasure was/ the default wherof was in the officers & in suche as had the ouer sight of the delyuere therof/ And 15 yet my lord reioysed in that littill in comparison to that he had byfore///

Nowe lett vs retourne agayn to m^r Cromwell to se howe he
hathe sped sence his departure last frome my lord/ **The case**
stode so that ther shold begyn shortly after Allhaloutyd the
20 parlyament/ And beyng w^t in london devised w^t hym self/ to be
oon of the Burgious of the parliament/ And chaunced to mete w^t
oon sir Thomas Russhe knyght (a specyall frend of his) whos
Sonne was appoynted to be oon of the Burgious of that parlia-
ment/ of whome he opteyned his rome/ And by that means put
25 his foote in to the parliament howsse/ Than w^t in ij or iij^{re} dayes
after his entre in to the parliamet/ he came vnto my lord to
Assher/ w^t a myche pleasaunter Countenaunce/ than he had at
his departure/ And meatyng w^t me byfore he came to my lord
sayd vnto me/ that he had oons adventured to put in his foote
30 where he trusted shortly to be better regardyd or all ware don/
And whan he was come to my lord they talked to gether in
secrett maner And that don he roode owt of hand agayn that
nyght to london/ because he wold not be absent frome the
parliament the next mornynge/ There cowld no thyng be spoken

5 night/ And] MS. night And 6 two indecipherable letters canc. after
hyme a 8 shortly interl. 11 he interl. 13 by canc. after
wherof was 18 sped canc. before sped; last interl. 21 second of]
MS. of of 22 his)] MS. his/ 25 howsse canc. before howsse
30 better interl. 30-31 don/ And] MS. don And

ageynst my lord in the parliament howsse but he wold answer it incontynent or elles take day vntill the next day/ ayenst w^{ch}e tyme he wold resorte to my lord to knowe what Answeres he shold make in his behalf/ In so myche that there was no matter alleged ayenst my lord but that he was euer redy furnysshed w^t an 5 sufficient Answeres/ So that at lengthe for his honest behauour in his m^rs case he grewe in to suche estymacion in euery mans oppynyon that he was estymed to be the [f. 57v] most faythe-fullest seruaunt to his m^r of all other/ wherin he was of all men greatly commendyd/ T'han was there brought a byll of Articles 10 in to the parliament howsse to haue my lord condempned of treason/ Ayenst w^{ch}e byll m^r Cromwell enveyed so discretly, w^t suche wytty perswacions & depe reasons that the same byll cowld take there no effect/ than ware hys ennemyes compelled to endyght hym in a Premunire/ And all was don oonly to the 15 entent to entill the kyng to all his goodes & possessions the w^{ch}e he had gathered together and purchased for his Colleges in Oxford & Ipsew^{ch}e/ And for the mayntenaunce of the same (w^{ch}e was than abyldyng in most Somptious wyse) wherin whan he was demaundyd by the Iugges (w^{ch}e ware sent hym purposly 20 to examyn hym what answere he wold make to the same) he seyd/ The kynges highnes knowyth right well wether I haue offendyd hys mat^te & his lawes or no/ in vsyng of my prerogatifte legantyn for the w^{ch}e ye haue me endighted/ Notw^tstandyng I haue the kynges lycence in my Coffers vnder his hand & broode 25 seale/ for excersisyng and vsyng the auctorytie therof in the largest wyse w^tin his highenes domynyons/ the w^{ch}e remayneth nowe in the handes of my Ennemyes/ therfor bycause I woll not stand in question or triall w^t the kyng in his owen case/ I ame content here of myn owen ffranke wyll & mynd in yo^r presence 30 to confesse the offence in the indyghtment/ And put me holly in the mercy & grace/ of the kyng/ hauyng no doughtes in his godly disposicion & charitable concience/ whome I knowe hathe an highe discretion to concyder the trouthe and my humble submyssion & obeydience/ And althoughe I myght Iustly stand 35

1 answer] M.S. answered

6 for interl.

8 most canc. after the

9 he canc. before he

10 in canc. before a

20 for that canc. after

hyme 32 hauyng interl.; put canc. before no

35 thoughte of

althoughe interl.

- in the tryall w^t hym ther in/ yet I ame content to submyt my self to his clementsy/ And thus myche ye may say to hym in my behalfe/ that I ame Intierly his obedycencer/ and do entend (god wyllyng) to obey & fulfull all his pryncely pleasure in euery
 5 thynge that he will commaund me to do/ whos wyll & pleasure I neuer yet disobeyed or repugned/ but was allwayes contentyd & glade to accomplaysshe his desier & commaundement (byfore god) whome I owght most rathest to haue obeyed/ the w^tne negligence nowe greatly repentithe me/ Notw^tstandyng [f. 58]
- 10 I most hartely requyer you/ to haue me most humbly to hys Royall mat^e/ commendyd for whome I do & wyll pray for the preseruacion of his Royall person long to rayn in honour, prosperyte & quyotnes and to haue the victory ouer his mortall & kankard ennemyes/ And they toke ther leave of hym &
 15 departyd/ **Shortly after** the kyng sent the Duke of Norffolk vnto hym in message/ (but what it was I ame not certeyn) But my lord beyng Aduertised that the Duke was commyng evyn at hand/ he caused all his gentilmen to wayt vpon hym down thorough the hall in to the base Court to receyve the Duke at
- 20 the entre of the gattes and commaundyd all his yomen to stand still in the hall in order/ And he and his gentilmen went to the gattes/ where he encountred w^t my lord of Norffolk whome he receyved/ bare hedyd/ who embrased eche other/ And so led hym by the Arme thorough the hall in to his chamber/ And as
 25 the Duke passed thorough the hall/ at the vpper end therof he torned agayn his visage down the hall Regardyng the nomber of the tall yomen/ that stode in order/ there/ & sayd/ Sirs/ q^d he/ yo^r diligent & faythefull seruaunce vnto my lord here (yo^r m^r) in this tyme of his Calamye hathe purchased for yo^r self/ of all noble
 30 men/ myche honestie/ In so myche as the kyng commaundyd me to say to you in his graces name/ that for yo^r trewe & lovyng seruyce that ye haue don to yo^r m^r/ his highnes woll se you all furnysshed at all tymes w^t seruyce accordyng to yo^r demerittes/ w^t that my lord Cardynall put of hys cappe/ And sayd to my

5 will interl. 7 to canc. before & glade; his canc. before his 8 to
 haue obeyed] MS. to obeyed 11 I canc. before do 12 his
 interl. 16 certeyn]) written over / 18 awayt canc. before wayt;
 wayt interl. 22 w^t interl.; lord canc. before lord 26 two in-
 deciperable letters canc. before torned 34 that interl.

lord of Norffolk/ Sir/ q^d he/ thes men be all approved men
 wherfore it ware pitie they shold want other seruyce or
 lyvynge/ And beyng sorrey that I ame not able to do for them
 as my hart dothe whisshe/ Do therfore requyer you my good
 lord to be good lord vnto theme/ and extend yo^r good word for 5
 theme when ye shall se opportunytie/ at any tyme hereafter/ And
 that ye wyll preferre ther dyligent & faythfull seruyce to the
 kyng/ Dought ye not therof/ q^d my lord of Norffolk/ but I wyll
 do for them the best of my power/ and when I shall se cause I
 wylbe an earnest sewter for them to the kyng/ And Some of you 10
 I wyll [f. 58v] Retayn myself in seruyce for yo^r honestes sake/
 And as ye haue begon/ so contynewe and remayn here still w^t
 my lord vntill ye here more of the kynges pleasure/ goddes
 blesyng & myn be w^t you// And so went vppe in to the great 15
 chamber to dynner/ whome my lord Cardynall thanked & sayed 15
 vnto hym yet my lord of all other nobyll men I haue most
 cause to thanke you/ for yo^r noble hart & gentill nature w^{ch}e ye
 haue shewed me behynd my bakke/ as my seruaunt Thomas
 Cromwell hathe made report vnto me/ but evyn as ye are a noble
 man in deade so haue ye shewed yo^r self no lesse to All men in 20
 Calamytie/ And in especyal to me/ And evyn as ye haue abated
 my glory & highe estate and brought it full lowe/ so haue ye
 extendyd yo^r honorable fauour most charitably vnto me beyng
 prostrate byfore ye/ forsothe sir ye do Right well deserue to
 bere in yo^r armez the noble & gentill lion/ whos naturall 25
 Inclinacion is that whan he hathe vanquiesshed Any best And
 seyth hym yelde lyeng prostrate byfore hym at his foote/
 than wyll he shewe most clemency vnto his vanquysht & do
 hym no more harme/ ne suffer any other devouryng beste to
 dammage hym/ whos nature and qualitie ye do ensewe/ 30
 therfore thes verses may be Ascribed to yo^r lordshyppe/ w^{ch}e be
 thes/

*Parcere prostratis/ Scit nobilis Ira leonis/
 Tu quoque fac Simile/ quisquis regnabis in orbem/*

1 Norffolk *canc.* before Norffolk 2 th *canc.* before it; or] written
 over &; 7 fa *canc.* before faythfull 18 behynd] h written over g
 22 for *canc.* before and; and *interl.*; it *interl.* 24 do *canc.* before do;
 do *interl.* 25 the] MS. the the 30 and *interl.* 31 askribed
canc. before Ascribed

W^t that the water was brought them to wasshe byfore dynner/
 to the w^{che} my lord called my lord of Norffolk to washe w^t
 hyme/ but he refused of Curtesy/ And desired to haue hyme
 excused/ And sayed that it became hyme not to presume to
 5 wasshe w^t hyme any more now than yt dyd byfore in his glory/
 yes forsothe q^d my lord Cardynall ffor my Auctory & dignyte
 legantyn is goon wherin consisted all my highe honour/ A
 Strawē q^d my lord of Norffolk for yo^r legacye/ I neuer estemed
 yo^r honour/ the more or higher for that/ but I regarded yo^r
 10 honour for that ye ware Archebysshope of yorke and a Cardynall/
 whos [f. 59] estate of honor surmountythe any duke nowe
 beyng w^t in this realme/ And so wyll I honor you/ And acknow-
 lage the same And beare you reurence accordyngly therfore I
 beseche you content yo^r self for I woll not presume/ to wasshe
 15 w^t you/ And therfore I pray you hold me excused/ than was my
 lord Cardynall constrainyd to washe alone/ And my lord of
 Norffolk all alon also/ whan he had don/ And whan he had don
 my lord Cardynall wold fayn haue had my lord of Norffolk to
 sytt down in the chayer in the Inner side of the table/ but suerly
 20 he refused the same also w^t myche humblenes/ than was there
 sett an other chayer for my lord of Norffolk ouer ayenst my
 lord Cardynall/ on the owt side/ of the table/ the w^{che} was by my
 lord of Norffolk based some thyng benethe my lord/ And duryng
 the dynner all ther commynycacion was of the dyligent seruyce
 25 of the gentilmen w^{che} remayned w^t my lord there/ attendyng
 vpon hyme there at dynner/ And howe myche the kyng and all
 other noble men dothe esteme theme/ w^t worthy commendacions
 for so doyng And at thys tyme howe littill they be estemed in
 the Court that are come to the kynges seruyce/ and forsaken
 30 ther m^r in his necessitie/ wheroft some he blamed by name/ and
 w^t this Commynycacion the dynner beyng endyd/ they roose
 frome the table and went together in to my lordes bedd
 Chamber/ where they contynued in Consultacion a certyn
 season/ And beyng there/ yt chaunced m^r Shelley the Iuge to

3 hymē canc. before to
canc. before consisted

13 beare canc. before beare

canc. before fayn
before was

5 glory canc. before glory

11 surmountythe] M.S. surmountythe

16-17 of Norffolk all interl.

21 an other canc. before chayer

7 sto

18 haue

22 b canc.

come thether sent frome the kyng/ wherof Relacion was made
to my lord/ w^{ch}e caused the Duke & hym to breke vppe ther
commynycacion/ And the Duke desired to goo in to some
chamber to repose hym for a season/ And as he was commyng
owt of my lordes chamber he mete w^t M^r Shelley to whome m^r 5
Shelley made Relacion of the cause of hys commyng/ And
desierd/ the duke to tary & assist hym in doyng of hys mess-
wage/ whome he denyed and sayd/ I haue no thyng to do w^t
yo^r messwage wherin I woll not meddell And so departed in to 10
a Chamber where he toke his rest for an hower or ij [f. 59v] And
in the mean tyme my lord issued owt of hys chamber/ And came
to m^r Shelley to knowe his message/ who declared vnto hym
(after dewe salutacion) That the kynges pleasure was to haue
his howesse at westminster (than Called yorke place) belongyng 15
to his bysshopriche of yorke/ entendieng to make of that howsse 15
a palice Royall/ And to possesse the same accordyng to the
lawes of thys hys graces realme/ his highnes hathe therfore sent
for all the Iugges and for all his learned Councell to knowe ther
oppynyonis in the assuraunce therof/ In whos determinacionis it
was fully resolued that yo^r grace shold recognyse byfore a Iugge 20
the right therof to be in the kyng & his Successors/ And so his
hyghnes shalbe assured therof/ Wherfore it hathe pleased his
ma^{tie} to appoyn me by his commaundement to come hether
to take of you this recognysaunce/ who hathe in you suche 25
Affiaunce/ that ye will not refuse so to do accordyngly/ Therfore 25
I shall desier yo^r grace to knowe yo^r good will therin/ M^r
Shelley/ q^d my lord/ I knowe that the kyng of his owen nature
is of a Royall stomake/ and yet not wyllyng more than Iustice
shall leede hym vnto by the lawe/ And therfore I councell you 30
& all other fathers of the lawe & learned men of his Councell to 30
put no more in to his hed than the lawe may stand w^t good
conscience/ ffor whan ye tell hym (this is the lawe) it ware well
done ye shold tell hym also/ that althoughe thys be the lawe/
yet this is concyence/ ffor lawe w^t out concyience is not good to

4 he interl.

5 che canc. after m^r

6 hys canc. before the

13 was interl.

17 realme/ his] MS. realme his;

therfore canc. before and

after therfore; therfore interl.

19 pleasures canc. before oppynyonis;

it interl.

20 I canc. before Iugge

21 as canc. before so

22 Wher for his canc. before Wherfore

25 r canc. before not

30 s canc. after the

32 well interl.] MS. wold interl.

be gevyn vnto a kyng in councell to vse for a lawfull right/ but allwayes to haue a respect to Concyence/ byfore the rigor of the comen lawe/ ffor (laus est facere q^d decet/ non q^d licett)/ the kyng owght of his Royall dignytie and prerogative to mytigat
 5 the Rigor of the lawe where concyence hathe the most force/ tharfore in his Royall place of equall Iustice/ he hathe constitute a Chauncelour/ an officer to execut Iustice w^t clemencye/ where concyence is oppressed by the Rigor of the lawe/ And therfore the Court of Chauncery hathe byn heretofore [f. 60] comenly called
 10 the Court of concyence/ by cause it hade Iurysdiction to com- maund the highe mynysters of the Comen lawe to spare execucion & Iugement where concience had most effecte/ ther- fore I say to you in this case allthoughe you and other of yo^r profession perceyve by yo^r learnyng that the kyng may by an
 15 order of yo^r lawes lawfully do that thyng w^{ch}e ye demaund of me/ howe say you m^r Shelley may I do it w^t Iustice & concyence/ to geve that thyng away frome me & my Successors w^{ch}e is non of myn/ if this be lawe w^t concience/ shewe me yo^r oppynyon/ I pray you/ fforsythe my lord/ q^d he/ there is some concyence in
 20 this case/ but hauyng regard to the kynges highe power/ And to be employed to a better vse & purpose/ it may the better be suffred w^t concyence/ who is sufficient to make recompence/ to the chirche of yorke w^t doble the valewe/ That I knowe well/ q^d my lord/ but here is no suche condicion/ nother promysed ne
 25 agreed/ but oonly a bare & symple departure w^t an others right for euer/ And if euery bysshope may do the lyke/ than myght euery prelate/ geve away the patremony of ther chirches w^{ch}e is non of thers And so in processe of tyme leve no thyng for ther Successors/ to mantayn ther Dignytes/ w^{ch}e all thynges con-
 30 sydered shold be but small to the kynges honour/ Sir I do not entend to stand in termes w^t you in this matter/ but lett me se yo^r commyssion/ to whome m^r Shelley shewed hym the same/ And that seen and perceyved by hym sayed agayn/ thus/ M^r Shelley/ q^d he/ ye shall make report to the kynges highnes/ that
 35 I ame his obedient subiect & faythfull chapleyn & bedman whos

5 where concyence *interl.*

before an

11 Comen] MS. Coen 14 the *canc.*22 is *canc. after* who30 s *canc. before* but; honour/

Sir] MS. honour Sir

thus

32 hym *interl.*35 sub. . *canc. before* subiect33 th this *canc. before*

Royall commaundemēt & request I wyll in no wyse disobey but most gladly fulfill & accomplyshe his pryncely will & pleasure in all thynges and in especyall in this matter in as myche as ye the ffathers of the lawes say that I may lawfully do it/ therfore I charge yo^r conciences & dischargethe myn/ howbeit I pray you 5 shewe his ma^tie frome me/ that I most humbly desier his highenes to call to his most gracious remembraunce/ that there is bothe hevyn & hell/ [f. 60^v] And there w^t the Clarke was called who wrott my lord recognysaunce/ And after some secret talke/ m^r Shelley departed/ Than Roose my lord of Norffolk 10 frome his repose/ And after Somme comynycacion w^t my lord/ he departed/

Thus/ contynued my lord at Assher who receyved dayly messwages/ frome the Court/ wheroft some ware not so good as some ware badd/ but yet myche more evyll than good/ ffor his 15 ennemyes perceyvyng the great affecon that the kyng bare allwayes toward hym/ devysed a mean to disquyot & disturbe his pacience thynkyng therbye to geve hym an occasion to frett & chafe that deathe shold rather ensewe than encreace of helthe or lyfe the w^che they most desired/ They feared hym 20 more after his fall than they did before in his prosperytie/ doughtyng myche hys readopcion in to auctorytie by reason that the kynges fauour remayned still towardes hym in suche sorte/ wherby they myght rather be in daynger of ther estates than in any assuraunce/ ffor ther crueltie mynesterd by ther 25 maliciois Invencions surmysed & brought to passe ayenst hym// Therfore they toke this order among theme in ther matters/ that dayly they wold send hym some thyng or do some thyng ayenst hym wherin they thought that they myght geve hym a cause of hevenes or lamentacion/ As some day they wold cause the kyng 30 to send for iiiij^{or} or v of hys gentilmen/ frome hym to serue the kyng/ And some other day they wold lay matters newly Invented ayenst hym/ An other day they wold take frome hym some of

4 w^t out canc. before therfore 11 comynycacion interl. 15 ware
 badde with the re written over s canc. before ware 16 enneyes canc.
 before ennemyes 19 sh canc. before deathe 20 two indecipher-
 able letters canc. before or 22 myche canc. after doughtyng; he canc.
 before hys and au before auctorytie; hys interl. 25 to hym with
 to interl. canc. before by 27 toke this] MS. toke/ this 30 fynd
 canc. before cause

hys promocions or of ther promocions whome he preferred
byfore/ than wold they fetche frome hym some of his yomen/ in
so myche as the kyng toke in to seruyce xvjen of theme at oons/
and at oon tyme/ put them in to his gard/ this order of lyfe he
5 led contynually/ that there was no oon day, but or euer he went
to bed he had an occasion greatly to chafe or frette the hart owt
of his bellye/ but that he was a wyse man and bare all ther
malice in pacyence/ At Cristmas he fill sore syke that he was
lykly to dye/ Wherof the kyng beyng aduertysed was very sory
10 therfore/ And sent doctor buttes his graces precision vnto hym
to se in what estate he was/ Doctor Buttes [f. 61] came vnto
hyme and fyndyng hym very syke lyeng in his bedd and
perceyvyng the daynger he was in/ repayred agayn vnto the
kyng/ of whome the kyng demaundyd sayeng/ howe dothe
15 yonder man haue you seen hym/ yea sir qd he/ howe do ye lyke
hyme/ qd the kyng/ fforsythe/ sir qd he/ yf you wold haue hym
deade/ I warraunt yo^r grace/ he wyll be deade wt in this iijor
dayes (if he receyve no comfort frome you shortly and m^{rs} Anne/
Mary (q^d the kyng) (God forbod) that he shold dye)/ I pray you
20 good M^r Buttes goo agayn vnto hym And do yo^r cure appon
hyme/ ffor I wold not loose hym for xx M^l II/ Than must yo^r
grace/ qd m^r Buttes/ send hym first some comfortable message/
as shortly as is possible/ Evyn so wyll I/ qd the kyng/ by you/
And therfore make spcd to hym agayn/ And ye shall delyuer
25 hym frome me thys Rynge/ for a tokyn of our good wyll and
fauor towards hym (in the w^{ch}e ryng was engraved the kynges
visage wt in a Rubye as lyvely counterfeyt as was possible to be
devysed) thys Ryng he knowyth very well for he gave me the
same/ And tell hym that I ame not offendyd wt hym in my
30 hart no thyng At All/ And that he shall perceyve (and god send
hyme) lyfe very shortly/ Therfore byd hym be of good cheare
and pluke vppe his hart & take no dispayer/ And I charge you
come not frome hym vntill ye haue brought hym owt of all

1 promocions *canc.* after hys; to *canc.* before whome 3 in
 interl. 4 and *canc.* before put; his *canc.* before lyfe; they *canc.* before he
 4-5 he led interl. 5 led w^t hyme *canc.* before contynually 6 or]
 written over & 12 bedd *canc.* before bedd 16 wold interl.
 19 mary *canc.* before Mary; god f *canc.* before (God 23 wyll I/ q^d)
M.S. wyll / 1 q^d; by interl. 31 hyme *canc.* before first hyme; lyfe interl.
 32 f *canc.* before vppe

daynger of deathe/ And than he spake to m^rs Anne sayeng/
Good swett hart I pray you at this my instaunce (as ye love vs)
to send the Cardynall a token w^t comfortable wordes/ And in so
doyng ye shall do vs a lovyng pleasure/ She beyng not mynded
to disobey the kynges earnest request (what so euer she 5
entendyd in hyr hart towardes the Cardynall) toke incontynent
hir tablette of gold hangyng at hir girdell And delyuerd it to m^r
Buttes w^t very gentill & comfortable wordes/ in commendacion
to the Cardynall/ And thus m^r Buttes departed and made spedys
retorne to Assher to my lord Cardynall/ After whome the kyng 10
sent Doctor Clement/ Doctor Wotten/ & doctor Cromer the
scott/ to consult and assist Mr Buttes for my lordes helthe/ After
that m^r Buttes had byn w^t my lord and delyuerd the kynges
& m^rs Annas tokens vnto hym/ w^t the most comfortablest
wordes he [f. 61v] cowld devyse on ther behalf/ wherat he 15
reioysed not a littill/ aduauncyng hym a littill in his bedd And
receyved thes tokens most Ioyfully thankyng m^r Buttes for his
comfortable newes & paynnes/ Mr Buttes shewed hym further
more that the kynges pleasure was that he shold mynester vnto
hyme for hys helthe/ And for the most assured and brefe wayes 20
to be had for the same/ hathe sent Doctor wotten/ Doctor
Clement/ And Doctor Cromer/ to Ioyn w^t hym in counsell &
mynystacion/ Therfore my lord/ q^d he/ it ware well don that
they shold be called in to visett yor person & estate/ wherin
I wold be glad to here ther oppynyons/ trustyng in allmyghty 25
god that thoroughe his grace and assistaunce we shall ease you
of yor paynnes and rid you clean frome yor dissease and
Infirmytie/ wherw^t my lord was well pleased & contented to
here ther Iugementes/ ffor in deade he trust more to the Scottyssh
doctor than he did to any of thother/ by cause he was the very 30
occasion that he inhabytid here in Englond/ and byfore he gave
hyme partly his exebicion/ in Paris/ than whan they ware come
in to hys chamber and had talked w^t hym/ he toke vpon hym
to debate his dessease learnedly among theme/ So that they

1 spake *canc.* before than 2-3 vs) to] MS. vs/ to 5 the k *canc.*
before earnest 16 hym a littill *interl.* 20 and brefe *interl.*
23 mynystracion/ Therfore] MS. mynystracion Therfore 24 in of
wherin *interl.* 26 we shall *canc.* after grace 28 *superscript t* *canc.*
between w and h of wherw^t

myght vnderstand that he was seen in that art// After they had taken order for mynstracion it was not long or they brought hym owt of all daynger & feare of dethe/ And w^tin iiiij^{or} dayes they sett hym on his feete/ And gott hym a good stomake to his
 5 meate/ thys don/ And he in a good estate of amendemet/ they toke there leave/ to departe/ to whome my lord offered his reward/ the w^{ch}e they refused seyeng that the kyng gave them in specyall commaundemet to take no thyng of hym for ther paynnes and mynstracion/ ffor at ther retourne/ his highnes
 10 seyd that he wold reward theme of his owen costes/ And thus w^t great thankes they departid frome my lord/ whome they lefte in good estate of recouere//

After thys tyme my lord dayly amendyd/ and so contynued still at Assher vntill Candyllmas/ ayenst w^{ch}e ffeast the kyng caused
 15 to be sent hym iij^{re} or iiij^{or} Cartloodes of stufte/ And most parte therof was lokked in great standerdes (excepte beddes & kytchn stufte) wherin was bothe plate [f. 62] and Riche hangynges/ And chappell stufte/ Than my lord beyng thus ffurnysshed was therw^t well contented/ Allthoughe/ they whome the kyng
 20 assigned did not delyuer hym so good ne so riche stufte as the kynges pleasure was/ yet was he Ioyous therof And rendred most humble thankes to the kyng/ And to theme that appoyned the seyd stufte for hym/ Sayeng to vs his seruauntes At the openyng of the same stufte in the standerdes/ the w^{ch}e we
 25 thought and sayd it myght haue byn better if it had pleased them that appoyned it/ Nay sirs q^d my lord/ to vs/ he that hathe no thyng is glad of somwhat though he be neuer so littill/ And allthoughe he be not in comparison halfe so myche & good as we had byfore/ yet we reioyse more of this littill than we dyd byfore
 30 of the great aboundinge that we than hade/ And thanked the kyng very myche for the same/ trustyng after thys to haue myche moore/ therfore lett vs all reioyse & be glade that god & the kyng hathe so graciously remembred to restore vs to some

4 good canc. before gott; gott interl. 7 y canc. after first the; thy canc. before them 15 vnto my lord canc. after sent; hym interl.
 24 before canc. after stufte; hym/ that ware canc. before in; that where q^d he/ canc. after standerdes/; the w^{ch}e interl. 25 and sayd interl.
 26 sirs interl. 28 so canc. before halfe 29 herof canc. before we reioyse 30 than interl. 32 myche and be interl.; of canc. before that

thynges to mayntayn our estate lyke a noble person/ Than commaunded he m^r Cromwell beyng w^t hym to make sewt to the kynges ma^{tie} that he myght remove thence to some other place/ ffor he was wary of that howsse of Assher/ for w^t contynuall vse therof the howsse waxed onsavery/ supposyng that if 5 he myght remove frome thence he shold myche soner recouer his helthe/ And also the Councell had putt in to the kynges hed that the newe gallery at Assher (w^{ch}e my lord hadde late byfore his fall newly sett vppe/) shold be very necessary for the kyng to take down & sett it vppe agayn at westminster/ w^{ch}e was don 10 accordyngly/ And standes at this present day there/ the takyng a way therof byfore my lordes face was to hym a Corrysafe/ w^{ch}e was Invented by hys ennemyes oonly to torment hym/ the w^{ch}e in dede discouraged hym very sore to tary any lenger there/ Nowe m^r Cromwell thought it but vayn & myche folly [f. 62v] 15 to move any of the kynges Councell to assist & preferre hys sewte to the kyng (among whome rested the nomber of hys mortall ennemyes) for they wold owther hynder his removynge or elles remove hym ferder frome the kyng than to haue holpen hym to any place nyghe the kynges comen trade/ Wherfore he 20 refused any sewte to theme & made oonly sewte to the kynges owen person/ whos sewte the kyng gracyously hard And thought it very convenient to be graunted And thorough the specyall mocyon of m^r Cromwell the kyng was well contentyd that he shold remove to Rychemond w^{ch}e place my lord had a littill 25 byfore repayed to his great cost & charge/ ffor the kyng had made an exchaunge therof w^t hym for hampton Court/ all this his removynge was don w^t out the knowlege of the kynges Councell/ for if they myght haue had any Intelligence therof byfore/ than wold they haue perswaded the kyng to the contrary/ 30 but whan they ware aduertised of the kynges graunt & pleasure/ they dissimuled ther countenaunces in the kynges presence/ ffor

4 wase canc. after howsse

5 waxed onsavery/] M.S. waxed/
onsavery6 recouer canc. before remove 11 and canc. after
accordyngly/ 12 therof interl. 13 Inventyde with d writtenover f canc. before Invented; Invented interl. 14 very sore interl.
16 his canc. before & and pro before preferre 19 ferder interl.; ferre

canc. before frome; e canc. after than 20 comen interl. 21 oon

canc. before oonly; oonly interl. 24 well interl. 29 Co canc.
before Councell

they ware greatly affrayed of hym/ lest his nyghe beyng to the kyng myght at lengthe some oon tyme resort to hym and so call hym home agayn/ consideryng the great affeccion & love that the kyng dayly shewe towardes hym/ Wherfore they
 5 doughted hys risyng agayn if they found not a mean to remove hym shortly frome the kyng/ In so myche that they thought it convenient for ther purpose to enforme the kyng vpon certeyn consideracions w^{ch}e they Invented/ that it ware very necessary that my lord shold goo down in to the Northe/ vnto his benefice
 10 of yorke/ where he shold be a good staye for the Contree/ to the w^{ch}e (the kyng supposyng that they had ment no lesse than good faythe) grauntyd and condyssendyd to ther suggestion w^{ch}e was fferced w^t so wonderfull Imagyned consideracions/ that the kyng (vnderstandyng no thyng of ther Intent) was lightly perswaded
 15 to the same/ **Whervppon** the Duke of Norffolk commaundyd m^r Cromwell (who had dayly accesse vnto hym) to say to my lord that it is the kynges pleasure that he shold w^t spedē goo to his benefice where lyethe his cure/ and looke to that accordyng to his dewtie/ M^r Cromwell at his next repayer to my lord
 20 declared vnto hym what my lord of Norffolk sayd/ who lay [f. 63] than at Richemonde/ howe it was determyned that he shold goo to his benefice/ Well than Thomas/ q^d my lord/ seyng ther is non other remedy I do entend to go to my benyfice of wynchester/ And I pray you 'Thomas so shewe my lord of
 25 Norffolk/ contentyd sir/ q^d m^r Cromwell/ And Accordingyng to hys commaundement dyd so/ to the w^{ch}e my lord of Norffolk answerd/ and seyd what wyll he do there/ Nay/ q^d he/ lett hym goo in to his provyne of yorke/ wheroft he hathe receyved his honor/ and there lyethe the spertyuall borden & charge of his concyence/ as
 30 he owght to do/ and so shewe hym/ The lordes who ware not all his ffrendes/ hauyng intelligence/ of his entent/ thought to w^tdrawe his appetite frome wynchester/ wold in no wyse permitt hym to plant hym self so nyghe the kyng/ Movyd therfore the kyng to geve my lord but a pencion owt of wynchester

1 re canc. after nyghe 2 to canc. before some 4 hym/ Wherfore] MS. hym Wherfore 6 thought interl. 11 lesse] MS. lesse) 11-12 than good faythe interl. 12 fo canc. before was 21 to go to canc. before that 24 so interl. 25 sir interl. 27 and seyd interl.; in interl. 29 of his canc. before & 32 no canc. before in

and to distribut all the rest among the nobilitie & other of his worthy seruauntes And in lyke wyse to do the same w^t the revenues of Seynt Albons and of the revenues of his Colleges in Oxford & Ipswhiche/ the w^{ch}e the kyng toke in to his owen handes/ Wherof m^r Cromwell had the receypte & gouernaunce 5 a fore be my lordes assignemet/ In consideracion therof it was thought most convenient that he shold haue so stylly/ Not w^tstandyng owt of the revenueus of wynchester & seynt Albons the kyng gave to some oon noble man iij^c markes & to some C¹¹ And to some more & to some lesse accordyng to the kynges 10 royll pleasure/ Nowe m^r Cromwell executed his office the w^{ch}e he had ouer the londes of the colleges so Iustly and exactly that he was had in great estimacion/ for his wytty behauor therin/ And also for the treu, faythfull & dyligent seruyce extendyd towards my lord his m^r/ That it came at lengthe so to 15 passe that thos to whome the kynges mat^e hade gevyn any Annuites or fees for terme of lyfe by patent/ owte of the fornamed Revenewes/ cowld not be good but duryng my lordes lyfe/ for as myche as the kyng had no lenger estate or title therin/ w^{ch}e came to hym by reason of my lordes attendure in 20 the premunire/ And to make ther estates good & sufficient accordyng to ther patentes/ it was thought necessary to haue my lordes confirmacion vnto ther grauntes/ And this to be brought abought there was non other [f. 63^v] mean but to make sewte to m^r Cromwell to atteyn ther confirmacion/ at my lordes handes/ 25 whome they thought myght best/ opteyn the same/ Then began bothe noble man & other who had any patentes of the kyng owte other of Wynchester or Seynt Albons/ to make earnest sewte to m^r Cromwell for to Solicite ther causes to my lord to gett of hym his confirmacions/ And for his paynnes therin susteyned/ 30 they promysed every man not onoly worthely to reward hym but also to shewe hym suche pleasures as shold at all tymes lye in ther seuerall powers/ Wherof they assured hym/ Wherin m^r Cromwell perceyvyng an occasion and a tyme gevyn hym/

2 And *canc.* before And16 my lord *canc.* after whome; the kynges
interl.; anuities gevyn with gevyn interl. *canc.* before gevyn 17 by patent
interl. 19 they kyng *canc.* before the 22 necessary interl.
23 grauntes] MS. grauntes 31 not *canc.* before they 34 an
canc. after and; a interl.

to worke for hym selfe And to bryng the thyng to passe w^{ch}e
 he long wysshed for/ Entendyd to worke so in thes matters to
 serue ther desiers/ that he myght the soner bryng his own
 enterprice to purpose/ Than at his next resort to my lord he
 5 moved hym privyely in this matter to haue his councell and hys
 advyse/ And so by ther wytty hedes it was devySED that they
 shold worke to gether by oon lyne to bryng by ther pollecyes
 m^r Cromwell in place & estate where he myght do hymeself
 good and my lord myche profett///

10 **Nowe began matters/** to worke to brynge M^r Cromwell in to
 estymacion in suche sort as was afterward myche to his
 encrease of dygnyte And thus euery man hauyng an occasion to
 sewe for my lordes confirmacion made nowe earnest travell to
 m^r Cromwell for thes purposes/ who refused non to make
 15 promyse that he wold do hys best in that case/ And havyng a
 great occasion of accesse to the kyng for the disposicion of
 dyuers londes wherof he had the order & gouernaunce/ by
 means wherof and by his witty demeanor/ he grewe contynually
 in to the kynges favor/ as ye shall here after in this history/ But
 20 first lett vs resorte to the great busynes abought the assuraunce
 of all thes patentes w^{ch}e the kyng hathe gevyn to dyuers noble
 men & other of his seruauntes wherin m^r Cromwell made a
 countenaunce of great sewte to my lord for the same that in
 processe of tyme he serued all ther tornes so that they had ther
 25 purposes/ And he ther good wylles/ thus roose hys name &
 frendly acceptaunce w^t all men/ the fame of his honestie
 & wisdome sounded so in the kynges eares that [f. 64] by reason
 of his accesse to the kyng he perceyved to be in hym no lesse
 wysdome than ffame had made of hym report/ for as myche as
 30 he had the gouernaunce & receyptes of thos londes w^{ch}e I
 shewed you byfore/ And the conference that he had w^t the kyng
 therin enforced the kyng to reput hym a very wyse man and a
 meate Instrume^t to serue his grace/ As it after came to passe/
Sir nowe the lordes thought long to remove hym ferther

3 b canc. before myght

4 re s canc. before resort

5 privyely

interl.; for canc. after matter; to haue his councell and interl.

8 he

interl.

9 good canc. before good and after myche; good interl.; two

indecipherable letters canc. before my; profett] MS. & profett

23 c canc.

before great

24 processe of] MS. processe of

28 to interl.

after perceyved

frome the kyng and owte of hys comen trade/ Wherfore (among other of the lordes) my lord of Norffolk seyd to m^r Cromwell/ Sir/ q^d he/ me thynkythe/ that the Cardynall yor m^r makythe no hast northeward/ shewe hym that if he goo not a way shortly/ I woll rather then he shold tary still/ teare hym w^t my 5 teathe/ Therfore I wold advyse hym to prepare hym a waye/ as shortly as he can/ or elles he shalbe sent forward/ Thes wordes m^r Cromwell reported to my lord at his next repayer to hym/ who than had a Iust occasion to resort to hym for the depeche of the noble mens & others patentes/ And here I wyll 10 leave of this matter & shewe you of my lordes beyng at Richemond

My lord havyng licence of the kyng to repayer & remove to Richemond wherfore my lord made hast to prepare hym thetherward And so he came and lodged w^tin the great parke 15 there/ w^{ch}e was a very pritty howsse & a nett/ lakyng no necessarie Romes that to so small a howsse was conuenyent & necessary where was to the same a proper garden garnysshed w^t dyuers plesaunt walkes & alies/ my lord contynued in thy loge frome the tyme that he came thether shortly after Candylmas 20 vntyll it was lent w^t a privye nomber of seruauntes by cause of the smalnes of the howsse/ And the rest of hys famely went to bord wages/ I wyll tell you a certyn tale/ by the way of Commynycasion **Sir as my lord** was accustomed towards nyght to walke in the garden there to sey his seruyce/ it was my 25 chaunce than to wayt vppon hym there/ and standyng still in an alie/ [f. 64v] wyllest he in an other walked w^t his chapleyn sayeng of his seruice/ And as I stode I aspied certyn Images of beastes counterfeit in tymber standyng in a corner vnder the loge wall/ to the w^{ch}e I repayred to behold/ Among whome I 30 sawe there a Dwn Cowe/ wheron I mused most by cause it semed me to be the most lyvelyst entaylled among all the rest/ My lord beyng (as I sayd) walkyng on the other side/ of the Garden/ perseyyved me/ came sodenly apon me at my bake onwares

1 comen] MS. coen 3 m^{re} canc. before m^r 9 an canc.
before a 20 shortly interl. 21 small nom canc. before
privye 23 his canc. before bord; tell you interl. 26 hym
interl. 29 temp canc. before tymber 31 mused canc. before
mused

sayd what haue ye espied here that ye so attentyfely looke
 vppon/ fforsythe if it please yr grace/ q^d I/ here I do behold thes
 entaylled Images the w^{che} I suppose ware ordened for to be sett
 vppe w^t in some place/ abowght the kynges place howbeit sir
 5 among them all I haue most considered the Dwn Cowe/ the
 w^{che} as it semyth me/ the worke man hath most apertly shewed
 hys Connyngh/ yea marye sir/ q^d my lord/ vppon thys dwn Cowe
 dependyth a certyn prophesy/ the w^{che} I woll shewe you for
 paraduenture ye neuer hard of it byfore/ Ther is a sayeng/ q^d
 10 he/ that whan this Cowe ridyth the bull/ than prest beware thy
 skull/ w^{che} prophecye nother my lord that declared it ne I that
 hard it/ vnderstod theffect of thys prophecye/ althoughe that
 evyn than it was a workyng to be brought to passe/ ffor this
 Cowe the kyng gave as oon of his beastes appurteynyng of
 15 antiquytie vnto his Ereldome of Richemond w^{che} was his
 auncyent enheritaunce/ this prophecy was after expoundyd in
 this wyse/ This doon Cowe (because it was the kynges beast)
 betokened the kyng/ And the bull bytokened m^rs Anne Bulloyn
 (w^{che} was after Quene & the kynges wyfe)/ bycause hyr ffather
 20 Sir Thomas Bulloyn gave the same best in his cognysaunce/ So
 that whan the kyng had maried hyr (the w^{che} was than onknowen
 to my lord/ or to any other at that tyme/) Than was thys
 prophecy thought of all men to be ffulfilled// ffor what a nomber
 of prestes bothe religious & seculer lost ther heddes for offendyng
 25 of suche lawes as was than made to bryng this prophecye to
 effect yt is not onknowen to all the world// [f. 65]
Therfor it was Iuged of all men that this prophecy was than
 ffyll whan the kyng & she ware Ioyned in mariage/ Nowe howe
 darke & obscure riddelles and prophecyes be/ you may behold in
 30 thys same/ ffor byfore it was brought to passe/ there was not the
 wysest prophicer cowd perfectly discus it/ as it is nowe come to
 effect & purpose/ Trust therfore (be myn advyse) to no kynd of
 darke Riddelles & prophecyes/ where ye may (as many hathe
 byn) be disseyved and brought to distruccion/ And many tymes

1 vnto me canc. before sayd

5 this interl. and canc. before Dwn

6 apertly interl.; apertly canc. before shewed 9 byfore/ Ther] MS.

before Ther 12 not canc. before theffect 13 it interl. 14 gave

canc. before the 21 w^{che} interl. 29 and interl. 31 as it

before/ canc. before as 34 be canc. before be; be interl.

the Imagynacions & travelous busynes to avoyd suche darke & straynge prophecyes hathe byn the very occasion to bryng the same the soner to effect & perfeccyon/ therfore lett men beware to devyn or assure them selfes to expound any suche prophecyes/ ffor who so doyth/ shal first dissayve them selfes/ And secondly 5 bryng many in to errour/ thexperience hathe byn lately experyenced (the more pitie) But if men woll nedes thynke them selfes so wyse to be assured of suche blynd prophecyes/ And wyll worke ther wylles therin/ owther in avoydyng or in ffulfil- lyng the same/ god send hym well to sped/ for he may as well 10 and myche more soner take dammage/ than to avoyd the daynger therof/ lett prophecyes alone a goddes name/ Applie yo^r vocacion And commytt thexposicion of suche darke riddelles And obscure prophecyes to god that disposyth theme as his devyn pleasure shall see cause/ to alter & chayne all yo^r enterprises & Imagynacions 15 to nothyng & disceyve all yo^r expectacions and cause you to repent yo^r great folly/ the w^{ch}e whan ye feale the smert wyll yo^r self confesse the same/ to be bothe great foly & myche more madnes/ to trust in any suche ffantazes/ lett god therfore dispose theme/ who gwerdenythe and punysshethethe/ accordyng to mens 20 desertes & not to all mens Iugementes/// [f. 65^v]

You have hard here byfore what wordes the Duke of Norffolk had to m^r Cromwell towchynge my lordes goyng in to the northe to his benyfice of yorke/ at suche tyme as m^r Cromwell declared the same to my lord/ to whome my lord answered in thys wyse/ 25 Marie Thomas/ q^d he/ than it is tyme to be goyng if my lord of Norffolk take it so/ Therfore I pray you goo to the kyng and move his highnes in my behalf and sey that I wold wt all my hart goo to my benefice in yorke but for want of mony/ desyryng his grace to assist me wt some mony towardes my 30 Journey ffor ye may sey that the last monye that I receyved of his ma^te hathe byn to littyll to pay my debtes/ compelled by his Councell so to do/ therfore to constraine me to the payment therof/ & his highenes hauyng all my goodes hathe byn to

1 the *canc.* before suche 4 sef *canc.* before selfes 5 be *canc.* after shal; be dissayved *canc.* after first 7 wolbe *canc.* before woll
 11 and *interl.*; da *canc.* before take 14 to god *interl.* 16 all *interl.*
 19 to *canc.* before in 20 to me *canc.* before accordyng 27 you
interl. 32 to pay *canc.* before to pay 33 compell *canc.* before constraine

myche extremyte/ wherin I trust hys grace wyll haue a charitable
 respecte/ ye may sey also to my lord of Norffolk and other of the
 councell that I wold departe if I had mony/ Sir q^d m^r Cromwell
 I wyll do my best and after other Commynycacion he departed
 5 agayn & went to london// My lord than in the begynnynge of
 lent removed owt of the loge in to the Charterhowsse of
 Richemond/ where he lay in a lodgynge (w^che Doctor Collett
 (sometyme dean of powlles) hadde made for hym self) vntill he
 removed northeward w^che was in the passion weke/ after/ And he
 10 had to the same howsse a secret gallery w^che went owt of his
 Chamber in to the Charterhowsse chirche/ whether he resortyd
 euery day to ther seruyce/ And at after noones he wold sytt in
 contemplacion w^t oon or other of the most auncyent ffathers of
 that howsse in his sell/ who among theme & by ther councell
 15 perswadyd frome the vaynglory of thys world/ And gave hym
 dyuers shirtes of heare the w^che he often ware after ward (wherof
 I ame certyn) And thus he perceuered for the tyme of his abode
 there in godly contemplacion/ Nowe whan m^r Cromwell came
 to the Court he chaunced to move my lord of Norffolk that my
 20 lord wold gladly depart northeward but for lake of mony wherin
 he desyred his assistaunce to the kyng/ Then went they bothe
 Ioyntly to the kyng/ to whome My lord of Norffolk declared how
 my lord wold gladly depart northeward if he wanted not mony
 to bryng hym thether/ The kyng therppon referred the
 25 assignemet therof to the Councell/ where vpon they ware in
 dyuers oppynyons/ some sayed he shold haue none for he had
 sufficient but late delyuerd hym/ Some wold he shold [f. 66]
 haue sufficient & anowghe/ And some contrarywyse wold he
 shold haue but a small Somme/ And some thought it myche
 30 ayenst the Councilles honor/ and myche more ayenst the
 kynges highe dignyte/ to se hym want the mayntenaunce of
 his estate w^che the kyng had gevyn hym in this Realme and
 also hathe byn in suche estymacon w^t the kyng and in great
 auctorytie/ vnder hym in this realme/ yt shold be rathe a great

6 lent removed owt] MS. lent owt

before ffathers

13 or other interl.; fah canc.

before canc. 17 contynued there canc. before perceuered 19 move]

MS. moved 21 kyng/ Then] MS. kyng Then 22 to interl. before

whome 32 gevyn canc. before gevyn; gevyn interl. 34 auctory . . canc.

before auctorytie

slander (in forrayn Realmes) to the kyng & his hole councell
to se hym want that latly had so myche/ and nowe so lyttill/
therfore rather than he shold lake (q^d oon among theme) that
rather than he shold lake/ althoughe he neuer did me good or
any pleasure yet wold I lay my plate to Gagge for hym for a 5
M^l ¹¹ Rather than he shold depart so symply as some wold
haue hym for to do/ lett vs do to hym as we wold be don vnto
consideryng his small offence and his in estymable Substaunce
that he oonly hathe departyd w^t all for the same oonly for
satisfieng of the kynges pleasure Rather then he wold stand in 10
defence w^t the kyng in defendyng of hys case/ As he myght Iustly
haue don as all ye knowe/ lett not malice cloke thys matter
wherby that pitie & mercy may take no place/ ye haue all yo^r
pleasures fulfillyd w^{ch}e ye haue long desired/ And nowe suffer
concyence to mynester vnto hym some liberalitie/ the day may 15
come that some of vs may be in the same case/ ye haue suche
alteracions in persons as well assured as ye suppose yo^r selfes to
be and to stand vpon as suer a ground/ And what hangythe
ouer our heddes we knowe not/ I can say no more nowe do as ye
lyst/ Than after all this they began agayn to consult in this 20
matter/ And after long debatyng and reasonyng abought the
same/ yt was concludyd that he shold haue by the way of prest
a M^l marces/ owt of wynchester bysshopriche byfore hand of
his pencion w^{ch}e the kyng had graunted hym owt of the same/
for the kyng had resumed the hole revenues of the bysshopriche/ 25
of wynchester in to his owen handes/ yet the kyng owt of the
same had grauntyd dyuers great pencyons vnto dyuers noble
men & vnto other [f. 66v] of his Councell So that I do suppose/
all thynges Accompted hys part was the lest So that whan thys
determinacion was fully concludyd they declared the same to 30
the kyng/ who strayt wayes commaunded that M^l marces to be
delyuerd owt of hand to m^r Cromewell and so it was/ The kyng
callyng m^r Cromwell to hym secretly/ bad hym to resort to
hyme agayn whan he had receyved the seyd Somme of mony/
And accordyng to the same commaundemēt/ he repayred agayn 35
to the kyng/ to whome the kyng sayd shewe my lord yo^r m^r

8 the *canc.* after consideryng; his *interl.* before small 16 case/ ye]
MS. case ye 19 h *canc.* before our 25 by *canc.* before revenues
31 wayes commaunded that] MS. wayes that; *superscript* ¹¹ *canc.* before marces

allthoughue our Councell hathe not assigned any sufficient Somme of mony to beare hys charges/ yet ye shall shewe hyme in my behalf that I woll send hyme a M^tⁱⁱ of my benyvolence/ And tell hyme that he shall not lake/ And byd hyme to be of good
 5 chere/ Mr Cromewell vpon his knee most humbly thanked the kyng (on my lordes behalf) for his great benyvolence & noble hart towarde my lord/ whos comfortable wordes/ q^d he/ of yo^r grace/ shall reioyse hyme more than ij^{re} tymes the valewe of yo^r noble reward/ And therw^t departed frome the kyng and
 10 came to my lord directly to richemond/ To whome he delyuerd the mony and shewed hyme all the argumet in the councell w^che ye haue hard byfore w^t the progresse of the same/ & of what mony it was & wheroft it was levyed w^che the Councell sent hyme And of the mony w^che the kyng sent hyme And of his
 15 comfortable wordes/ wheroft my lord reioysed not a littill & greatly comforted/ And after the receypt of this mony my lord consultyd wt m^r Cromwell abought his departure & of his Journey w^t the order therof//

Than my lord prepared all thynges w^t spede for his Journey
 20 in to the northe/ Sent to london for lyuere clothes for his seruauntes that shold ride w^t hym thether/ Some he refusid suche as he thought ware not mete to serue/ And some agayn of ther owen mynd desired hyme of his fauour to tary still here in the Sowthe/ beyng very lothe to enbandon ther natife contrie/
 25 ther parentes/ wyfes & childeyne/ wherw^t he most gladly licenced w^t his good wyll & fauour And rendered vnto theme his hartie thankes for ther paynfull seruyce & long tariaunce w^t hym in his troublesome dekay & ouerthrowe/ So that nowe/ [f. 67] all thynges beyng ffurnysshed towards this Journey
 30 w^che he toke in the begynnyng/ of the passion weke/ byfore Ester/ And so rode to a place than the Abbottes of westminster called hendon/ And the next day he remoued to a place called the Rye where my lady Parre lay/ the next day he roode to Royston and lodged in the monastory there/ And the next he remoued to

8 than] MS. than than

9 yo^r interl.

13 levyed/ canc. before &

14 the canc. before his; his interl.

17 the canc.

before m^r 20 northe/ Sent] MS. northe Sent 21 in to the canc.before thether 24 lothe canc. before lothe 30 w^che interl.; the same

canc. before in

huntyngdon/ And there lodged in the Abbey/ And frome thence he removed to Peterboroughe And there lodged also w^tin the Abbey beyng than Palmesonday where he made hys abode vntyll the thursday in Ester weke/ w^tall his trayn/ wheroft the most part went to bord wages in the town havyng xijth Cartes 5 to carry his stiffe of his owen w^che came frome his collage in Oxford where he had lx^{ore} Cartes to Cary suche necessaryes as belonged to his byldynges there// Vpon Palmesonday he went in procession/ w^t the monkes beryng his Palme/ settyng forthe godes seruyce right honorably w^t such syngynge men as he than 10 had remaynyng w^t hym/ And vpon maundy Thursday he made his maundy in our ladys Chappell/ hauyng lix^{tl} poomen whos feet he than wasshed wyped & kyssed/ eche of thes poore men had xij^d in mony iij elles of Canvas to make theme shirtes/ a payer of newe shoes/ A Cast of Brede/ iij^{re} red herynges/ and 15 iij^{re} whight herynges and the oide person had ij^s/ Vpon Esterday in the mornyng he rode to the resurreccion/ And that day he went in procession in his vesture Cardynall w^t his hatt & hode vpon his hed/ And he hymself sang there the highe masse very devoutly/ And graunted cleane remyssion to all the herers 20 and there contynued there all the holledayes//

My lord contynuyng/ at Peterboroughe after this maner entydnyg to remove frome thence sent me to sir willam ffitzwillam a knyght w^che dwelt w^t in iij^{re} or iiiij^{or} mylles of Peterboroughe to provyde hym there a lodgyng vntill monday 25 next folowyng on his Iourney northeward/ And beyng w^t hym/ to whome I declared my lordes request/ and he beyng therof very glad/ reioysed not a littill that it wold please my lord to vysit his howsse in his waye/ sayeng [f. 67v] that he shold be (the kyng mat^{te} excepted) most hartilest welcome to hym of any 30 man a lyve/ And that he shold not nede to discharge the cariage of any of hys stiffe for his owen vse duryng the tyme of his beyng there but haue all thynges furnysshed redy ayenst hys commyng/ to occupie (his owen bedd excepted) Thus vpon my

1 Royston *canc.* before huntyngdon
canc. after to
after vntyll
13 wyped *interl.*
before holledayes
interl.

2 Peterbury with first r *interl.*
4 Ester the thursday with the thursday *interl. canc.*
6 his collage in *interl.*
18 had *canc.* before hatt
23 rev *canc.* before remove; thence *interl.*
30 mate *interl.*

9 bey *canc.* before beryng
21 allowday *canc.*
29 be

report made to my lord at my retorne/ he reioysed of my messwage/ comaundyng me therwt to geve warnyng to all his officers & seruautes to prepare them selfes to remove frome Peterboroughe vpon Thirsday next/ than euery man made all
 5 thynges in suche redynes as was convenient payeng in the town for all thynges as they had taken of any person for ther owen vse/ ffor w^{ch}e cause my lord caused a proclamacion to be made in the town/ that if any person or persons in the town or contrie there ware offendyd or greved ayenst any of my lordes
 10 seruautes/ that they shold resort to my lordes officers of whome they shold haue redresse/ and truly answered/ as the case Iustly requered/ So that all thynges beyng ffurnysshed my lord toke his Iourney frome Peterboroughe vpon the Thirsday in Ester weke/ to M^r ffitzwillam where he was Ioyously receyved
 15 and had right worthy & honorable entertaynmet at the oonly charges & expences of the seyd M^r ffitzwillam/ all his tyme beyng there/ The occasion that moved m^r ffitzw^m thus to reioyse of my lordes beyng in his howsse/ was that he some tyme beyng a merchaunt of london and shereve there fill in debate w^t the
 20 Citie of london vpon a Grudge bytwen the Aldermen of the benche and hym vpon a newe corporacion that he wold erected there of a newe mystery called merchaunt taylours contrarye to the oppynyon of dyuers of the benche of aldermen/ of the Citie of london/ w^{ch}e caused hym to geve & surrender his
 25 Clooke/ and departed frome london & inhabyted w^t in the Countrye/ And ayenst the malice of all the seyd aldermen and other rewlers in the Comen wele/ of the Citie/ my lord defendyd hym/ and reteyned hym in to seruyce/ whome he made first his Treasorer of his howsse/ & than after his highe Chamberlayn/
 30 And in conclusion (for his wysdome/ gravytie/ port/ and eloquens/ beyng a gentilman of a comly stature)/ made hym oon of the kynges Councell/ and so contynued all his lyfe after ward/ Therfor in [f. 68] consideracion of all thes gratitudes receyved at my lordes handes as well in his trobyll as in his
 2 me interl. 3 hymcanc. before them; them interl. 5 suche
 canc. before suche 7 procla canc. before proclamacion 8-9 in the
 town or contrie there interl. 9 ayenst] MS. aystn 14 was
 interl. 15 right interl. 17 of hi canc. before beyng 22 of a
 newe mystery interl. 27 Comen] MS. Coen 34 mynestred
 by canc. before receyved; receyved at interl.

preferment/ was most gladest (lyke a faythfull frend of good remembraunce) to requyt hym w^t semblable gratuytie and right Ioyous/ that he had any occasion to mynster some pleasure suche as lay than in his power to do/ Thus my lord contynued there vntill the monday next/ where lakked no good chere of costly vyandes bothe of wyn and other goodly enteraynemet/ So that vpon the seyd monday my lord departed frome thence vnto Stampford where he lay all that nyght/ and the next day he removed frome thence vnto Grantham and was lodged in a gentilmans howsse called/ m^r hall/ and the next day 10 he rode to Newarke/ & lodged in the Castell all that nyght/ The next day he roode to Southewell a place of my lordes w^t in ij^{re} or iiij^{or} myles of Newarke/ where he entendyd to contynewe all that Somer/ as he dyd after// here I must declare to you a notable tale of commynycacion/ (w^{ch}e was don at m^r ffitzw^m 15 byfore his departyng frome thence) bytwen hym & me/ the w^{ch}e was this/ **Sir my lord** beyng in the Garden at m^r ffitzw^m walkyng and sayeng of his evysong w^t hys Chapleyn/ I beyng there gevynge attendaunce vpon hym/ his Evysong fynesshed commaundyd his Chapleyn that bare vppe the trayn of his 20 gown wyllest he walked/ to delyuer me the same and he to goo aside whan he had don/ And after hys chapleyn was goon a good distaunce owt of any heryng/ he sayd vnto me/ in this wyse/ ye have q^d he/ byn late at london/ fforsythe my lord/ q^d I/ not late/ sence that I was there to bye yo^r lyueres for yo^r seruauntes/ And 25 what newes q^d he/ was there than hard ye no commynycacion ther of me/ I pray you tell me/ Than perceyvyng that I had a good occasion to talke my mynd playnlly vnto hym/ sayd/ Sir if it please yo^r grace/ it was my chaunce to be at a Dynner in a certyn place w^t in the Citie/ where I among dyuers other honest 30 & worshipfull gentillmen/ happed to sitt [f. 68v] w^{ch}e ware for the most part of my old famylier acquayntaunce/ wherfore they ware the more bolder to enter in commynycacion w^t

1 lyke a] M.S. lyke/ a 2 to requyt canc. before to; ti canc. before first t of gratuytie 6 bothe canc. before of costly 6-7 entertaynemet/ So] M.S. entertaynem^{et} So 7 he canc. before my; my lord interl. 10 lodged in interl. 21 tall canc. before walked; to delyuere canc. before to delyuer and his before the; the same interl.; trayn canc. before and 24 very canc. after not 25 not canc. before sence; f canc. before for 30 in interl. 31 happed to Suppe canc. before happed

me/ vnderstandingy that I was still yo^r graces seruaunt/ Axid me
 a questyon w^{ch}e I cowld not well assoyll theme/ what was that/
 q^d my lord/ fforsythe sir/ q^d I/ ffirst they axid me howe yc dyd
 And howe ye accepted yo^r aduersitie & troble & the losse of yo^r
 5 goodes/ to the w^{ch}e I answered that ye ware in helthe (thankes
 be to god) And toke all thyng in good part/ And sir it semed me
 that they ware all yo^r Indifferent frendes lamentyng yo^r dekay
 & losse of yo^r Rome & goodes/ doughtyng myche that the
 sequell therof cowld not be good in the Comen welthe/ ffor
 10 often chayngeng of suche officers w^{ch}e be ffate fed in to the
 handes of suche as be lean and hongerd for riches woll suer
 travell by all means to gett aboundaunce & so the poore Comens
 be pillyd & extorted for gready lucre of Riches & treasure/ they
 sayd that ye ware full fed and entendyd nowe myche to the
 15 auaunceme^t of the kynges honor & the comen welthe/ Also they
 marvelled myche that ye beyng of so excellent a wytt and highe
 disreccsion wold so symplly confesse yo^r self gyltie in the
 premunyre/ wherin/ ye myght full well haue stand in the triall of
 yo^r case/ ffor they vnderstod by the report of some of the kynges
 20 Councell learned that in yo^r case (well considered)/ ye had great
 wrong/ to the w^{ch}e I cowld make (as me thought) no sufficient
 Answer but sayd that I dought not but that yo^r so doyng was
 vpon some greater consideracion than my wytt cowld vnder-
 stand/ ys this/ q^d he/ the oppynyon of wyse men/ yea forsothe
 25 my lord/ q^d I/ and allmost of all other men// Well then/ q^d he/
 I se that ther wysdomes perceyve not the ground of the matter
 that moved me so to do ffor I considered that my ennemyes had
 brought the matter so to passe ayenst me/ and conveyed it so
 that they made it the kynges case/ and caused the kyng to take
 30 the matter in to his owen handes & quarell/ And after that he
 had vpon occasion therof seased all my goodes & possession in
 2 well interl. 3 ye dyd canc. after howe 9 can canc. before
 cowld; cowld interl.; Comen] MS. Coen 10 chayngeng interl.; chayne
 of canc. before of 11 and hongerd interl.; an interl. and canc. after and;
 of canc. before for 14 to canc. before myche 15 comen] MS.
 coen 18 styfc canc. before in and the before the; the interl.
 20 that canc. before ye 21 cowld canc. before cowld 22 so
 interl. 23 consideracion] MS. consideraricion; I canc. before my
 25 of canc. before allmost 26 th . . than interl. and canc. before I; I se
 that interl.; that canc. before of 27 enneis canc. before ennemyes
 28 that canc. before and; and interl.; they interl. and canc. before conveyed

to his demayns/ And than the quarell to be his/ he wold rather than yeld or take a foyell in the lawe/ and therby restore [f. 69] to me all my goodes agan/ wold soner (by the procuremet of my ennemyes and evyll wyllers) Imagyn my vtter vndoing & distruction/ Wherof the most ease therin had byn for me 5 perpetuall Imprisonme^t/ And rather then I wold Ieopard so ferre/ or put my lyfe in any suche hasard/ yet had I most levest to yeld & confesse the matter commytyng the hole some therof as I did vnto the kynges Clemency & mercy and lyve at large lyke a poore vykare/ than to lye in prison w^t all the goodes & 10 honour that I hade/ And therfore it was most best way for me (all thynges consideryd) to do as I haue don/ than to stand in triall w^t the kyng ffor he wold haue byn lothe to haue byn noted a wrong doer/ And in my submyssion the kyng (I dought not) 15 had a great remorse of concyence/ wherin he wold rather pitie me than malygne me/ And also there was a contynuall serpentyn ennemye abought the kyng that wolld I ame well assured if I had byn found stife necked/ called contynually vpon the kyng in his eare (I mean the nyght Crowe)//// w^t suche a vehemencye/ that I shold (w^t the helpe of hir assistaunce) have opteyned soner the 20 kynges indignacion/ than his lawfull fauour and his ffauor oons lost (w^{ch}e I trust at this present I haue) wold never haue byn by me recouered/ therfore I thought it better for me to kepe still his lovynge favour/ w^t losse of my goodes & dignytyes than to 25 wynne my goodes & substaunce w^t the losse of hys love & pryncely fauour/ w^{ch}e is but oonly deathe// Quia indignacio principis mors est/ And thys was the specyall ground and cause that I yelded my self gyltie in the premunire/ w^{ch}e I perceyve all men knewe not/ wherin sence/ I vnderstand the kyng hathe 30 conceyved a certyn pryke of concyence/ who toke secretly to hymself the matter more grevous in his secrett stomake than all men knewe/ for he knewe wether I did offend hym ther in so

1 beyng *canc.* after And 5 therin and for me *interl.*; had *canc.* before had 7 moste leves *canc.* before most; most levest *interl.*

8 matter *canc.* after hole; some therof *interl.* 10 than *canc.* before lyke; to *interl.* 11 hade *canc.* before hade 12 to *interl.* before stand 16 was *interl.*; serpentyn *canc.* before serpentyn; serpentyn *interl.* 20 assistaunce) have opteyned] *MS.* assistaunce opteyned

25-26 pri written over & and *canc.* before pryncely; pryncely] *MS.* prynly 26-27 princly *canc.* before principis 29 & *canc.* after kyng 30 secretly *interl.*

greviously (as it was made) or no/ To whos concyence I do
 commytt my cause/ trowthe/ & equytie// And thus we left the
 substaunce of all this commynycacion/ althoughe we had myche
 more talke/ yet is this sufficient to cause you to vnderstand as
 5 well the cause of his confession in his offence/ as also the cause
 of the losse of all his goodes & treasure/// [f. 69^v]

Nowe lett vs/ retorne were we left/ My lord beyng in the
 Castell of Newarke/ entending to ride to Southwell w^{ch}e was
 iiiij^{or} myles frome thence/ toke nowe his Iourney thetherward
 10 ayenst Supper/ where he was fayn for lake of reparacion of the
 bysshopes place/ w^{ch}e appurteyned to the see of yorke/ to be
 lodgyd in a prebendaries howsse ayenst the seyd place/ And
 there kepte howsse vntill wytsonyd next ayenst w^{ch}e tyme he
 removed in to the place newlye amendyd & repayed/ And there
 15 contynued the most part of the Somer/ Sewerly not w^tout great
 resort of the most worshipfullest gentilmen of the Contrie/ And
 dyuers other/ of whome they ware most gladlye entertyned &
 had of hym the best chere he could devyse for theme whos
 gentill & famylier behauour w^t theme caused hym to be greatly
 20 beloved & esteemed/ thorough the hole contrie there aboughtes/
 he kept an noble howsse and plentie bothe of meate & drynke/
 for all commers bothe for riche & Poore/ And myche almes gevyn
 at his gate/ he vsed myche charite & pite/ among his poore
 tenauntes & other/ althoughe the fame therof was no pleasaunt
 25 sownd in the eares of his ennemyes and of suche as bare hym no
 good wyll/ howbeit the Comen people woll report as they fynd
 cause/ ffor he was myche more famylier among all persons than
 he was accustomed/ And most gladdest whan he had an occasion
 to do them good/ he made many agrementes and concordes
 30 betwen gentillman & gentillman/ And bytwen some gentillmen
 & ther wifes that had byn long a Sonder and in great troble/ and
 dyuers other agrementes bytwen other persons/ makyng great
 assemblies for the same purpose and feastyng of them not
 sparingyng for any costes where he myght make a peace/ and
 35 amytie/ w^{ch}e purchased hym myche love & frendshipe in the

5 all canc. after well
 before to be

10 of interl. after lake

11 wa canc.

21 noble canc. before noble; of canc. before bothe

26 wyll howbeit] MS. wyll howbeit; Comen] MS. Coen

33 t canc.

before not

Contrie// yt chaunced that vppon Corpus xpi Eve after supper
he commaundyd me to prepare all thyng for hym in a redynes/
ayenst the next day/ for he entendyd to syng highe masse in the
mynster/ that day And I not forgettyng his commaundemēt/
gave lyke warnyng to all his officers of hys howsse & other of my 5
ffellowes/ to forse that all thynges appurteynyng to ther romes
ware fully furnysshed to my lordes honor/ [f. 70] This don I went
to my bed/ where I was skantly a slepe & warme but that oon of
the porters came to my chamber doore/ callyng vppon me/ and
sayd there was ij gentillmen/ at the gat that wold gladly speke 10
w^t my lord frome the kyng/ w^t that I arose vppe and went
incontynent vnto the gate w^t the porter/ demaundyng what they
ware that so ffayn wold come In/ they seyd vnto me that ther was
mr^r Breerton/ oon of the gentilmen of the kynges privye chamber/ 15
And mr^r Wrothesley w^che ware come frome the kyng empost/ to 20
speke w^t my lord/ than hauyng vnderstandyng what they ware
caused the Porter to lett them In/ And after ther entre they
desired me to speke w^t my lord w^tout delay for they myght not
tary/ at whos request I repayred to my lordes chamber & waked
hyme that was a slepe/ but whan he hard me speke/ he de- 25
maundyd of me what I wold haue/ Sir q^d I/ ther be bynethe in
the porters loge mr^r Breerton gentilman of the kynges pryyve
Chamber/ and mr^r writhesley come frome the kyng to speke w^t
you/ they wyll not tary therfore they beseche yo^r grace to speke
w^t you owt of hand/ well than q^d my lord byd them come vppe 30
in to my dynyng chamber/ and I wyll prepare my self to come
to theme/ than I resorted to them agayn/ And shewed them that
my lord desired them to come vppe vnto hym & he woll talke
w^t theme w^t a right good wyll/ they thanked me & went w^t me
vnto my lord and assone as they perceyved hym beyng in his 35
nyght apparell dyd to hym humble reuerence/ whome my lord
toke by the handes demaundyng of theme howe the kyng his
souerayn lord did/ sir seyd they/ right well in helthe & mery/

1 yet it *canc.* before yt 6 ap *canc.* before appurteynyng 8 had
canc. before was; was *interl.*; in *canc.* before but 10 wold *canc.* after
gat 11 vppe *canc.* before vppe 13 ffayn wold come] MS.
ffayn come 16 lord/ than] MS. lord than; vnderst *canc.* after hauyng
19 at *interl.* 21 q^d I] I written over h 24 you/ they] MS. you
they 25 yo *canc.* before w^t; hand/ well] MS. hand well 28 them
interl.; he *interl.* 32 ther *canc.* before his

(thankes be vnto our lord)// Sir q^d they/ we must desier you to talke w^t you a part/ w^t a right good wyll/ q^d my lord/ who drewe them a side in to a great wyndowe/ and there talked w^t theme secretly/ and after long talke they toke owt of a male/ a certyn
 5 Coffer couered w^t grean veluett/ and bound w^t barres of siluer & gylt/ w^t a looke of the same/ hauyng a key w^che was gylt w^t the w^che they opened the same chest/ owt of the w^che they toke a certyn Instrumet or writyng conteyning more then oon skyn of parchment/ [f. 70v] havyng many great Seales hangyng at yt/
 10 where vnto they put more waxe for my lordes Seale/ the w^che my lord Sealed w^t his owen seale & subscrybed his name to the same/ And that don they wold nedes departe/ And for as myche as it was after mydnyght/ my lord desired them to tarye & take a bed/ they thanked hym/ And seyd they myght in no wyse tary
 15 for they wold w^t all sped to the Erle of Shrewesburys directly w^tout lett by cause they wold be there or euer he stered in the mornynge/ And my lord perceyvyng ther hasty spede/ caused them to eate suche cold meate as ther was in store w^tin the howsse and to drynke a coppe or ij of wyne/ And that don he
 20 gaue eche of theme iiij^{or} old Souerayns of gold desiryng them to take it in gree sayeng that if he had byn of greater abylltie/ ther reward shold haue byn better/ And so takyng ther leave/ they departyd/ and after they ware departed/ as I hard sey they ware not contentid w^t ther reward/ In deade they ware not none
 25 of his indifferent ffrendes w^che caused them to accept it so disdaynously howebeit if they knewe what littill stoore of mony he had at that present they wold I ame suere (beyng but his Indyfferent frendes) they wold haue gevyn hym harty thankes/ But no thyng is more lost or cast a way/ than is suche thynges
 30 w^che is gevyn to suche Ingrate persons/ My lord went agayn to bed And yet all his watche & disturbance that he had that nyght notw^tstandyng/ he song hyghemasse the next day as he appoynted byfore/ There was none in all his howsse that knewe of the commyng or goyng of thes ij gentilmen and yet there lay
 35 w^t in the seyd howsse many worshipfull strayngers//

After thys sort/ and maner my lord contynued at Southewell

2 talke canc. before talke

4 make canc. before male

15 my

lord eanc. before the

18 them interl.

31 that he had that

interl.

32 nyght interl.

33 of canc. before in; in interl.

vntill the latter end of Grease tyme/ at w^{ch}e tyme he entendyd to remove to Scrobye/ w^{ch}e was an other howsse/ of the bysshop-riche of yorke/ and ayenst the day of his removyng he caused all his officers to prepare as well for provysion to be made for hym there as also for cariage of his stiffe and other matters concerningyng his estate/ his removyng and entent was not so secrett/ but that it was [f. 71] knownen/ abrode in Contrie/ w^{ch}e was lamentable to all his neyghbors/ abought Southwell/ and as it was lamentable vnto them/ so was yt as myche Ioy to his neyghbors abought Scrobye/ Ayenst the day of his removyng dyuers 10 knyghtes & other gentilmen of worshype in the Contrie/ came to hym to Sowthewell entendyng to accompany & attend vpon hym in that Iourney the next day And to conducte hym thorough the fforest vnto Scrobye/ but he beyng of ther purpose aduertised howe they did intend to haue lodged a 15 great stagg or tweyn for hym by the waye/ purposly to shewe hym all pleasure & disporte they cowld devyse and havyng (as I seyd) therof Intelligence was very lothe to receyve any suche honor & disport at ther handes not knowyng howe the kyng wold take it and beyng well assured that his ennemyes 20 wold reioyse myche to vnderstand that he wold take vpon hym any suche presumpcyon/ wherby they myght fynd an occasion to enforme the kyng howe sonpmtyous & pleasaunt he was notw^tstandyng his aduersite and ouerthrowe/ And so to bryng the kyng in to a wrong oppynyon of small hope/ in hym 25 of reconcilmet/ but rather that he sowght a mean to opteyn the fauour of the Contrie/ to w^tstand the kynges procedynges w^t dyuers suche Imagynacions wherin he myght soner catche displeasure than fauour & honour/ And also he was lothe to make the worshipfull gentilmen privye to this his Imaginacion 30 lest parauenture that they shold conceyve some toye or fantzy in ther hedes by means therof and so to eschewe ther accustumed accesse and absent theme selfes frome hym/ w^{ch}e shold be as myche to hys greve/ as the other was to his comfort/ therfore he

3 rem canc. before removyng 7 knownen canc. after it was 9 yt
canc. before yt 11 & canc. before knyghtes 16 or tweyn interl.
17 hym canc. before and 21 a single indecipherable letter canc. before
take 24 by canc. after to 26 wold wold with first w written over
b canc. after he 30 priyy canc. before privye 34 ther canc.
before his

devysed this meane way/ (as hereafter folowyth) w^{ch}e shold rather be taken for a laughyng disport than other wyse/ ffirst he called me vnto hym secretly at nyght goyng to his rest/ And commaundyd me in any wyse most secretly that nyght to cause
 5 .vj.th or .vij.^{en} horsses besides his mewle for his owen person to be made redy by the breke of the day for hym/ and for suche persons as he appoynted to ride w^t hym to an Abbey called welbeke/ where he entendyd to logge by the way to Scrobye/ wyllynge me to be also in a redynes/ [f. 71v] to ride w^t hym/

10 And to call hym so early that he myght be on horssebake after he had hard masse by the brekyng of day/ Sir/ what wyll you more/ All thynges beyng accomplisched accordyng to his commaundement And the same fynysshed & don/ he w^t a small nomber byfore appoynted mounted vpon his mewle settynge
 15 forthe by the brekyng of the day towardes welbeke w^{ch}e is abought xvjen mylles frome thence/ whether my lord & we came byfore vj.th of the cloke in the mornyng and he went strayt to his bed levyng all the gentilmen strayngers in ther beddes at Sowthewell no thyng privye of my lordes secrett departure/ who
 20 expectyd his vppe risyng vntill it was viij.th of the Clocke/ but after it was knownen to theme/ and to all the rest there remaynyng behynd hym/ than euery man went to horsbake/ gallopeng after supposyng to ouertake hym/ but he was at his rest in welbeke or euer they roose owt of ther beddes in Sowthewell/ And so
 25 ther cheafe huntyng and Coursyng of the great Stagge was disapoynted & dassht/ but at ther thether resort to my lord sytting at dynner the matter was gested & laughed owte/ merylye/ and all the matter well taken/ My lord the next day removed frome thence/ to whome resortyd dyuers gentillmen of
 30 my lord therle of Shrewsburys seruauntes to desier my lord in ther m^{rs} name to hunt in a parke/ of therles called worsoppe parke/ the w^{ch}e was w^t in a myle of welbeke/ and the very best & next waye for my lord to travell thorowghe on his Iourney where myche plenty of game was layed in a redynes to shewe

1 w^{ch}e canc. before (as 2 be interl.; f canc. before a 3 bed
 canc. before rest 9 to be in a canc. before to ride 13 small
 canc. before small 17 he interl. 18 1 canc. before
 levying 32 w^{ch}e was w^t] MS. w^{ch}e w^t; two indecipherable letters canc.
 before very

hyme pleasure/ howbeit he thanked my lord ther m^r for his gentilnes and theme for ther paynnes/ sayeng that he was no meate man for any suche pastyme/ beyng a man other wyse disposed/ suche pastyme & pleasure ware meate for suche noble men as delight therin/ Neuerthelesse/ he cowld do no lesse than 5 to accompte my lord of Shrewsbury to be myche his frend in whome he found suche gentilnes & noblenes in his honorable offer/ to whome he rendered his most lowly thankes/ but in no wyse they cowld entreat hym to hunt althoughe the worshipfull gentilmen beyng in his company provoked him all that they 10 cowld do therto/ yet he wold not consent desyryng theme to be contented/ sayeng that he came not in to the Contrye [f. 72] to frequent or folowe any suche pleasures or pastymes/ but oonly to attend to a greaterre Care that he had in hand w^{ch} was his dewtie, study & pleasure And w^t suche reasons & perswasions he 15 pacified them for that tyme/ howbeit yet as he rode thoroughe the parke bothe my lord of Shrewsburys seruauntes And also the foreseyd gentilmen moved hym/ oons agayn byfore whome the dere lay very fayer for all pleasaunt/ huntyng and Coursyng/ but it wold not be/ but made as myche sped to ride thorowghe 20 the parke/ as he cowld/ And at the issue owte of the parke/ he callyd therles gentilmen & the kepers vnto hym/ desyryng theme to haue hym commendyd to my lord ther m^r/ thankynge hym for hys most honorable offer & good wyll/ trustyng shortly to visit hym at his owen howsse/ And gave the kepers 25 xl^s for ther payns & diligence/ who conducted hym thoroughe the parke And so rode to an other abbey called Rofford Abbey/ And after he rode to blythe Abbey/ where he lay all nyght/ And the next day to Scrobye where he contynued vntill after Michelmas mynstryng many deades of charitie/ Most Comenly 30 euery Sonday (if the whether did serue) he wold travell vnto some paryshe chirche/ there abought and there wold say hys devyn seruyce And other here or say masse hym self/ causyng some oon of hys Chaplyns to preche vnto the people/ And that don he wold dynne/ in some honest howsse/ of that town/ where 35

1 & canc. before for 3 of canc. before other 4 yt is canc. before
suche pastyme 11 h canc. before theme 16 as] MS. as as; rose canc.
before rode 17 al canc. after seruauntes 23 the canc. before
hyme 24 hys canc. before hys 29 Skroerby canc. before Scrobye

shold be distributed to the poore a great almes/ as well of mete
 & drynke/ as of monye/ to suplye the want of sufficient
 mete/ if the nombor of the poore did so exced of necessitie/ And
 thus w^t other good deades practasyng & excercisyng duryng his
 5 abode at Scrobye as makynge of love dayes and aggremetes
 bytwen partie & partie/ beyng than at varyaunce/ he/ dayly
 frequentyng hym self abought suche busynes/ & deades of
 honest charitie// [f. 72v]

Than abought/ the feast of Seynt Michell next ensuyng my
 10 lord toke his Iourney towards Cawood Castell/ the w^{ch}e is
 w^tin vij^{en} myles of yorke/ And passyng thether he lay ij nyghtes
 and a day at Seynt Oswaldes Abbeye where he hymself con-
 firmed Childeyne in the Chyrche frome viijth of Clocke in the
 mornynge vnyll xj^{en} of the clocke at none/ And makynge a short
 15 dynner resortyd agayn to the chirche at oon of the cloke/ And
 there began agayn to confirme moo childern vntill iiij^{or} of the
 cloke/ where he was at the last constrainyd for werynes to sitt
 down in a chayer/ the nomber of the childeyne was suche/ that
 don he sayd his Evynsong and than went to Sopper/ And rested
 20 hym there all that nyght/ And the next mornynge he applied
 hym self to departe towards Cawood and or euer he departed
 he confirmed all most an Cth childeyne more And than rode on
 his Iourney/ And by the way ther ware assembled at a stone
 Crosse standyng vpon a greane w^t in a quart^r of a myle of
 25 fferyebrigg abought the nomber of CCth childeyne to confirme/
 where he allighted and never removed hys foote vntill he had
 confirmed theme all/ And than toke his mewle/ agayn and roode
 to Cawood where he lay long after w^t myche honour and love
 of the Contrie/ bothe of the worshipfull and of the symple/
 30 excercisyng hym self in good deades of charitie/ And kepte
 there an honorable & plentifull howsse/ for all commers/ And
 also bylt & repayred the Castell w^{ch}e was than greatly dekayed
 hauyng a great multitude of artifciers and laborers/ above the
 nomber of CCCth persons dayly in wages/ And lyeng there he
 35 had Intelligence/ by the gentilmen of the Contrie/ that vsid to

4 excersi canc. before excercisyng

12 hymself interl.

more] MS. childeyne/ more

before mewle

9 abought canc. before the

19 dyn canc. before Sopper

22 childeyne

27 meu canc.

34 wages/ And] MS. wages And; he canc. before lyeng

repayer vnto hymē/ that there was spong a great varyaunce &
deadly hate/ bytwen sir Richard Tempest & mr Bryan hastynges
than but a squyer w^{ch}e was after made knyght/ bytwen whome
was lyke to ensue great murder onlesse some good mean myght
be found to redresse the Inconvenyence that was most lyklyest 5
to ensue/ my lord beyng therof aduertised laymentyng the case
made suche means by his wysdome & letters w^t other per-
swasions that thes ij gentilmen ware content to resort to my
lord to Cawood/ and there to abyde his order/ hyghe & lowe/
than was there a day [f. 73] Appoyned of there assembly byfore 10
my lord/ At w^{ch}e day they Came/ not w^tout great nomber on
eche partie/ wherfore ayenst w^{ch}e day my lord had requyred
many worshipfull gentilmen to be there present to assist hymē
w^t ther wysdomes to appease thes ij worthy gentilmen/ beyng
at deadly foode/ and to se the kynges peace kepte/ com- 15
maunding no more of ther nomber to enter in to the Castell w^t
thes ij gentilmen than vj persons of eche of ther menyall
seruautes and all the rest to remayn w^tout in the town or where
they listed to repayer/ And my lord hymē self issuyng owte of
the gattes callyng the nomber of bothe parties byfore hymē 20
strayntly chargeng them most earnestly to obserue & kepe the
kynges peace/ in the kynges name/ vppon ther parells w^tout
owther braggyng or quarelling eyther w^t other and caused
theme to haue bothe beare and wynne sent theme in to the
town/ And than retourned agayn in to the Castell beyng abought 25
ix^{en} of the cloke/ And bycause he wold haue thes gentilmen to
dyne w^t hymē at his owen table/ thought it good/ in avoydyng of
further Inconvenyence/ to appeace ther rancore byfore/ where
vppon he called theme in to his Chappell/ And there w^t the
assystence/ of the other gentilmen he fill in to commynycacion 30
w^t the matter/ declaryng vnto theme the dayngers & myscheses
that thorough the wylfunes & foly ware most lyklyest to
enswe/ w^t dyuers other good exhortacions/ Notw^tstandyng the
parties layeng And allegyng many thynges for there defence/

2 Tempest *canc.* before Tempest 4 e *canc.* before ensue and a before
great 5 Inconvenye *canc.* before Inconvenyence; was interl 14 to
pas *canc.* before to; gentilmen *canc.* before gentilmen 20 byfore *canc.*
before byfore 25 ix *canc.* after abought 30 of the . wors the
other *canc.* before of 34 layeng *canc.* before layeng

Sometyme Addeng eche to other stout & dispyghtfull wordes of diffyaunce the w^{ch}e my lord & the other gentilmen had myche a do to qualifie/ ther malices was so greate/ howbeit at lengethe/ w^t long contynuaunce// wyse argume^{tes} & depe perswasions
 5 made by my lord they ware aggred & fynally accordyd abought iiiij^{or} of the cloke at after none/ And so made theme ffrendes/ And as it semed they bothe reioysed & ware right well contentyd therwt/ to the great comfort of all the other worshipfull gentilmen/ causyng theme to shake handes and to go arme in
 10 Arme to dynner/ And so went to dynner/ though it was very late/ to dynne/ yet notw^tstandyng [f. 73v] they dyned together w^t thother gentilmen at my lordes table where they dranke lovyngly eche to other w^t countenaunce of great Amytie/ After dynner my lord caused them to discharge ther rowtes & assemble
 15 that remayned in the town and to retayn w^t theme no mo seruauntes than they ware accustumed most comenly to ride w^t/ And that don/ thes gentillmen ffulfillynghis commaundement taried at Cawood and lay there all nyght whome my lord entartayned in suche sort that they accepted his noble hart in
 20 great worthynes trustyng to haue of hym a specyall Ioyell in ther contrie/ hauyng hym in great estymacion & fauour/ as it appered after ward by ther behauor & dymeanor towardes hym//

Yt ys not/ to be/ dought but that the worshipefull persons As
 25 doctors and prebendaries of the cloos of yorke/ wold & did resort vnto hym accordingyng to ther dewties as vnto ther father & patron of ther spertyuall dignyties/ beyng at his first commyng in to the contrie/ ther chirche of yorke beyng w^tin vij^{en} myles/ wherfore ye shall vnderstand that Doctor hikden Deane of the
 30 chirche of yorke w^t the treasurer and dyuers other hed officers of the same repayed to my lord welcommynghyme most Ioyously in to the contrie sayeng that it was to theme no small comfort to se hym among theme as ther cheafe hed w^{ch}e hathe byn so long absent frome theme/ beyng all that while lyke
 3 & canc. after qualifie; geat canc. before greate 4 & canc. before / wyse
 and depe before & 5 at canc. before they; g canc. after accordyd
 7 as interl.; contentyd interl. 7-8 con contendyd canc. before therwt
 10 wase canc. before was 16 to ride canc. before most 17 fully
 canc. before ffulfillyngh 19 s canc. after noble 20 of canc. before a;
 of hyme interl. and canc. before in 34 absence canc. before while

ffatherlesse childeyne & comfortles trustyng shortly to se hym
among them/ in his owen chirche/ yt is/ q^d he/ the especciall
cause of all my travell in to this Contrie not oonly to be among
you for a tyme but also to spend my lyfe w^t you as a very father
and a mutuall brother/ Sir than/ q^d they/ ye must vnderstand 5
that the ordenarie Ruelles of our chirche hathe byn of an
auncyent Custume/ wherof althoughe ye be hed & chefe
gouernor yet be ye not so well acquaynted w^t theme as we be/
therfore we shall vnder the supportacion of yo^r grace/ declare
some part therof to you/ as well of our auncyent Custumes As of 10
the lawse & vsage/ of the same/ Therfore ye shall vnderstand that
where ye do entend to repayer vnto vs/ the old lawe & custume
of our chirche hathe byn that the archebisshope beyng our chefe
hed & pasture as your grace nowe be/ myght ne owght not to
come above the quyer doore nor haue any stalle in the quyer/ 15
vntill [f. 74] he by dewe order ware there stalled/ ffor if ye shold
happen to dye byfore yo^r stallacion ye shold not be buried above
in the quyer but in the body of the same chirche benethe/
therfore we shall (vna voce) requyer yo^r grace/ in the name of 20
all other our brotherne/ that you wold vouchesalve to do herin
as yo^r noble predecessors & honorable fathers hathe don/ And
that ye wyll not infrynge or violate any of our laudable ordyn-
naunces & constitucionys of our chirche/ to the obseruaunce &
preseruacion wherof we be obliged by vertue of an othe at our 25
first admyttaunce to se them obserued & fulfilled to the vtter-
most of our powers/ w^t dyuers other matters remaynyng of
Record in our treasury howsse/ among other thynges// Thos
recordes/ q^d my lord/ wold I gladly se/ And thos seen & digested/
I shall than shewe you further of my mynd/ And thus of thys 30
matter they ceased commynycacion and passed forthe in other
matters/ So that my lord assigned theme a day to bryng in ther
recordes/ at w^{ch}e day they brought w^t them ther reiester boke
of record/ wherin was writyn ther constitucionys and auncyent
Rewles whervnto all the fathers & mynesters of the chirche of
yorke ware most cheafely bound bothe to se it don & performed 35

1 & interl.

5 brother/ Sir] MS. brother Sir

7 be interl.

10 & canc. before As

11 vsed canc. before vsage

12 y canc.

before vs

14 is canc. before be

22 infrynge canc. before infrynge

27 Ac canc. before our

28 my lord/ wold] MS. my lord wold

and also to performe & obserue the same them selfes/ And whan
 my lord had seen/ rede/ & considered theffect of ther recerdes
 And debated w^t theme substancyally therin/ he determinyed to
 be stalled there in the mynster the next monday after Alhalou-
 5 day/ Ayenst w^{ch}e day there was made necessarye preparacion/
 for the furniture therof/ but not in so sumptuous a wyse as his
 predecessors did byfore hym/ ne yet in suche a sort as the
 comen fame was blowen a brode of hym/ to his great slander/
 and to the reporters myche more dishonestie to forge suche
 10 lyes & blasphemous reportes wherin ther is no thyng more
 ontrewe/ The trowthe wheroft I perfectly knowe/ for I was made
 pryyve to the same/ And sent to yorke to forse all thyng to pre-
 pare accordyng for the same/ w^{ch}e shold haue byn myche more
 meane & basse than all other of his predecessors hertofore hathe
 15 don/ yt came so to passe that vppon hallhalouday oon of the hed
 officers of the chyrche w^{ch}e shold (by vertue of his office) haue
 most doynges in this stallacion came to dynne w^t my lord at
 Cawood and sittynge at dynner they fill in commynycacion
 [f. 74v] for the order of his stallacion/ who sayd to my lord that
 20 he owght to goo vppon clothe frome seyt Iames chapell
 (standyng w^tout the gatess of the Citie of yorke) vnto the
 mynster the w^{ch}e shold be distributed among the poore/ My
 lord heryng this made answere to the same in this wyse/
 Allthoughe/ q^d he/ that our predycessors went vppon clothe
 25 right Somptuously/ we do entend (god willyng) to goo a foote
 frome thence w^tout any suche glory/ in the vampees of my
 hosyn/ for I take god to be my very Iuge that I presume not to
 goo thether for any tryhumphe or vaynglory/ but oonly to fulfull
 the obseruaunces & Rewles of the chirche to the w^{ch}e (as ye say)
 30 I ame bound/ And therfore I shall desier you all to hold you
 contentyd w^t my symplycyte/ And also I commaund all my
 seruauntes to goo as humbly w^tout any other sumptuous apparell
 than they be costumably vsed & that is comly & decent to were/
 ffor I do assure you I do entend to come to yorke vppon Sonday

2 b *canc. after my*6 furniture] *MS. furtiature*

8 comen]

*MS. coen*10 bl *canc. before &*11 ontrewe/ *The] MS.*ontrewe *The*12-13 d *canc. after prepare*15 byn *canc. before*

don

17 stallacion came to] *MS. stallacion to*21 the *Citie of**interl.*26 of *canc. before of; of interl.*27 be *canc. before be*33 & that is *interl.*; to where/ *canc. before comly*

at nyght and lodge there in the Deans howsse and vpon
monday to be stalled & there to make a dynner for you of the
cloose and for other worshipfull gentylmen/ that shall chaunce
to come to me at that tyme/ And the next day to dynne w^t the
Mayor and so retorne home agayn to Cawood that nyght/ And 5
thus to fynysshe/ the same wherby I may at all tymes resort to
yorke mynster w^tout other scripulosite or offence to any of you/
This day cowld not be onknowen to all the Contrie but that some
must nedes haue knowlege therof/ wherby that notice was gevyn
vnto the gentillmen of the Contrie/ And they beyng therof as 10
well aduertised as Abbottes/ Priors & other of the day of this
solemnyzacyon/ sent in suche provision of dayntie victualles that
it is allmost Incredyble/ wherfore I omly to declare vnto you
the certyntie therof/ As of great & fatt beafes/ muttons/ wyld-
fowle/ and venyson bothe red & falowe and dyuers other dayntie 15
meates suche as the tyme of the yere dyd serue/ sufficent to
furnysshe a great & somptious feast/ all w^{ch}e thynges ware
onknowen to my lord/ for as myche as he beyng preventyd and
disapoyned of his reasonable purposed entent/ by cause he was
arrestyd as ye shall here hereafter/ So that [f. 75] the most part 20
of this provision was sent to yorke/ that same day that he was
arrested and the next day folowyng/ ffor his arrest was kept as
cloose & secrett frome the contrie as it cowld be/ by cause they
doughted the people w^{ch}e had hym in great love & estymacion/
for his accustumed charitie/ & liberalitie vsed daylye among 25
theme w^t famylier gesture & countenaunce/ w^{ch}e be the very
means to allewer the love & hartes of the people in the northe
parties/ **Or euer I wad** any ferther in this matter I do entend
to declare vnto you what chaunced hym byfore this his last
troble at Cawood as a sygne or token gevyn by god what shold 30
folowe of his end or of troble w^{ch}e did shortly ensue/ the sequell
wherof was of no man (than present) owther premedytate or
Imagyned/ therfor for as myche as it is a notable thyng to be
considered I wyll (god wyllyng) declare it as truly as it chaunced

8 Contre canc. before Contrie 13 the canc. after you 14 bukes
canc. after fatt 16 ye canc. after of 20 here hereafter/]
M.S. here/ hereafter 24 hymel] M.S. hymee 31 or interl.;
shold canc. before did; did interl.; At the w^{ch}e doyng/ canc. before the
33 Imagyned/ therfor] M.S. Imagyned therfor; notable canc. before notable
34 to canc. before it as

accordyng to my symple remembraunce/ at the w^{che} I my self
was present//

My lordes accustumed Ennemyes in the Court abought the
kyng had nowe my lord in more dowght than they had byfore
5 hys fall/ consideryng the contynuall fauour that the kyng bare
hyme/ thought that at lengthe the kyng myght caulle hym home
agayn/ And if he so did/ they supposed that he wold rather
Imagyn ayenst theme/ than to remytt or forgett ther Crueltie
w^{che} they most oniustly Imagened ayenst hym// warfore they
10 compased in ther hedes that they wold owther by some means
dispatche hym by some synester Accusacion of treason/ or to
bryng hym in to the kynges highe indignacion by some other
wayes/ this was ther dayly Imagynacion & studye/ hauyng as
many spyalles and as many eyes to attend vpon his doynges (as
15 the poettes fayn Argos to haue)/ So that he cowld nother worke/
or do any thyng but that his ennemyes had knowlege therof
shortly after/ Nowe at the last they espied a tyme wherin they
caught an occasion/ to bryng ther purpose to passe thynkyng
therbye to haue of hym a great avaantage/ ffor the matter beyng
20 oons disclosed vnto the kyng in suche a vehemencye as they
purposed/ they thought the kyng wold be moved ayenst hym w^t
great displeasure/ And that [f. 75v] by them executyd & don/
the kyng vpon ther Informacion/ thought it good that he shold
come vppe to stand to his triall/ w^{che} they lyked no thyng at
25 all/ Notw^tstandyng he was sent for after thys sort/ ffirst they
devysed that he shold come vppe apon arrest in ward the w^{che}
they knewe right well wold so sore greve hym that he myght be
the weker to come in to the kynges presence to make answerē/
wherfore they sent sir walter welshe knyght (oon of the
30 gentilmen of the kynges privye chamber)/ down in to the
Contrie vnto the Erle of Northehumberland (who was brought
vppe in my lordes howsse) w^t a Commyssion/ And they twayn
beyng in commyssion/ Ioyntly to arrest my lord of haulte treason/
thys conclusion fully resolued/ they caused m^r walsshe to
35 prepare hym selfe to thys Iourney w^t this commyssion and

11 to canc. before dispatche; some interl.
canc. before and 20 they interl.
all Notw^tstandyng 28 come canc. before come
before haulte

12 kynges interl. 14 as
25 all/ Notw^tstandyng] MS.
33 hal canc.

Certyn Instruccions annexed to the same/ who made hym redy
 to ride and toke his horsse at the Court gate Abought oon of the
 clocke at none vpon halhalou day/ towards the Northe/ **Nowe
 ame** I come to the place where I wyll declare the thyng that I
 promysed you byfore of a certyn token of my lordes troble ^{w^{ch}e} 5
 was thys/ **My lord** sytting at dynner vpon Alhalou day in
 Cawood castell hauyng at his bordes end dyuers of his most
 worthiest chapleyns sytting at dynner to kepe hym company
 for lake of Strayngers/ ye shall vnderstand that my lordes great
 crosse of Syluer accustumably stode in the corner at the tables 10
 end leanyng ayenst the tappett or hangyng of the chamber/ And
 whan the tables end was taken vppe/ & a convenient tyme for
 theme to arryse/ And in arryssyng frome the tabyll/ oon doctor
 Augusteyn/ the phisicion beyng a venycian borne/ hauyng a
 boystors gown of blake veluett vpon hym/ As he wold haue 15
 come owt at the tables end his gown ouerthrew the crosse that
 stode there in the corner/ And the Crosse raylyng down along
 the tappett it chaunced to fall vpon doctor Bonners hed ^{w^{ch}e}
 stod among other by the tappett makynge of Curtesy to my lord
 and w^t oon of the poyntz of the [f. 76] crosse Raced hys hed a 20
 littill that the blode ran down/ the company standyng there
 ware greatly astoned w^t the chaunce (my lord sytting in his
 chayer) lokyng vpon them perceyved the chaunce/ demaundyd
 of me beyng next hym what the matter ment of ther soden
 abasshemet/ I shewed hym howe the Crosse fyll vpon doctor 25
 Bonners hed/ hathe it/ q^d he/ drawen any bloode/ yea forsothe
 my lord/ q^d I/ as it semythe me/ w^t that he cast down hys hed
 lokyng very soberly vpon me a good while w^tout any word
 spekyng/ at the last/ q^d he/ shakynge of hys hed/ **Malum Omen/**
 And therw^t sayd grace/ and rose frome the table/ And went in to 30
 his bed chamber there lamentyng makynge his prayers/ Nowe
 marke the sygnyfacion howe my lord expoundyd this matter
 vnto me afterward at Pountfrett Abbey/ ffirste ye shall vnderstand
 that by the Crosse ^{w^{ch}e} belonged to the dygnytie of yorke/ he

8 sytt canc. before sytting; sytting interl. 11 at canc. before ayenst
 12 a and tyme for interl.; for tyme of with for tyme interl. canc. before tyme
 16 w^t canc. before his 17 there interl. 20 brake canc. before
 Raced; Raced interl. 21 down/ the] MS. down the 23 vpon
 them interl. 25 doctor] MS. doctors 27 I thynke so interl.
 and canc. before as

- vnderstode to be hymeself/ And by Augusteyn he vnderstode
 that ouerthrew the Crosse to be he that shold accuse hym/ by
 means wherof he shold be ouerthrown/ the fallyng vpon m^r
 Bonners hed (who was m^r of my lordes faculties & spertyuall
 5 Iurisdicciions) w^{ch}e was dampnified by the ouerthroweng of the
 crosse by the phisicion/ And by the drawyng of blode betokned
 deathe/ w^{ch}e shortly after came to pas/ Abought the same very
 tyme of the day of thys myschaunce m^r walshes toke hys horsse
 at the Court gate/ as nyghe as it cowld be Iuged/ And thus my
 10 lord toke it for a very sygne or token of that w^{ch}e after enswed if
 the circumstaunce be equally considered & noted/ Althoughe
 no man was there present at that tyme that had any knowlege of
 m^r walshes commyng down/ or what shold followe/ wherfore as
 it was supposed that god shewed hym more secrett knowlege
 15 of his lattere dayes & end of his troble than all men supposed/
 w^{ch}e appered right well by dyuers talkes (that he had w^t me at
 dyuers tymes) of his last end/ And nowe that I haue declared
 vnto you theeffect of this prodegye and sygn/ I wold retorne
 agayn to my matter/// [f. 76v]
- 20 **The tyme drawyng** nyghe of his stallacion sittynge at dynner
 vpon the ffriday next byfore monday on the w^{ch}e he entendyd
 to be stalled at yorke/ the Erle of Northumberland and m^r walshes
 w^t a great company of gentilmen/ as well of therles seruauntes
 as of the Contrie w^{ch}e he had gathered together to accompany
 25 hym in the kynges name (not knowyng to what purpose or to
 what entent) came in to the hall at Cawood (the officers sittynge
 at dynner/ and my lord not fully dyned) but beyng at his
 freuctes/ nothyng knowyng of therles beyng in his hall/ The first
 thynge that therle dyd after he came in to the Castell com-
 30 maunded the Porter to delyuer hym the kayes of the gattes who
 wold in no wyse delyuer hym the kayes/ althoughe he ware
 very roughly commaundyd in the kynges name to delyuer theme/
 to oon of therles seruauntes/ Seyeng vnto therle/ Sir ye do entend
 to delyuer them to oon of yo^r seruauntes to kepe theme & the

1 hy *canc.* after vnderstode; to be *interl.*

8 of the day *interl.*

11 ther was *canc.* after Allthoughe 12 was *interl.* 20 and *canc.*

before at 22 and m^r] MS. and/ m^r 26 who *canc.* before came

27 dynner/] / written over) 30 gattes of *canc.* after hym the; gattes

canc. before gattes; gattes *interl.*

gattes and to plant an other in my rome/ I knowe no cause whye
 ye shold so do/ and this I assure you that yo^r lordshipe hathe
 no oon seruaunte but that I ame as able to kepe theme as he/ to
 what purpose so euer it be/ And also the keyes ware delyuerd
 me by my lord my M^r wt^t a charge bothe by othe & by other 5
 preceptes & commaundem^{tes} therfore I beseche yo^r lordshipe
 to pardon me/ thowghe I refuse yo^r commaundem^t ffor what
 so euer ye shall commaunde me to do that belongyth to my
 office/ I shall do it wt^t a right good wyll as Iustly as any other of
 yo^r seruauntes/ wt^t that q^d the gentilmen there present vnto 10
 therle (heryng hyme speke so stoutly lyke a man & wt^t so good
 reason) Sir/ q^d they/ he is a good ffellowe & spekythe lyke a
 faythfull seruaunt vnto his m^r/ and lyke an honest man/ therfore
 geve hyme yo^r charge and lett hyme kepe still the gattes/ who we
 dought not wyll be obeyent to yo^r lordshipes commaundem^t/ 15
 Well than/ q^d therle/ hold hyme a boke and commaund hyme to
 lay his hand vppon the boke/ where at the porter made some
 dought/ but beyng perswadyd by the gentilmen there present/
 was contentid/ and layed his hand vppon the boke/ to whome/
 q^d therle/ thou shall swere to kepe well & truly thes gattes to the 20
 kynges our souerayn lordes vse and to do all suche thynges as
 we shall commaund the in the kynges name beyng his hyghnes
 commyssioners and as it shall seme to vs at all tymes good as
 long as we shalbe here in the Castell/ And that [f. 77] ye shall
 not lett in nor owte at thes gattes but suche as ye shalbe com- 25
 maundyd/ by vs frome tyme to tyme/ And vppon this othe he
 receyved the kayes at therles and m^r walshes handes/ of all thes
 doynges knewe my lord no thyng/ for they stopped the stayers
 that went vppe in to my lordes chamber where he sate/ so that
 no man cowld passe vppe agayn that was come down/ At the last 30
 oon of my lordes seruauntes chaunced to loke down in to the
 hall at a loope that was vppon the stayers and retorne to my
 lord that shewed hyme that my lord of Northumberland was in
 the hall/ where at my lord marvelled and wold not beleve hyme
 at the fyrist but commaundyd a gentilman/ beyng his gentilman 35

2 you *canc.* before you; you that *interl.*
 seruauntes wt^t

12 / q^d they/ *interl.*
 15 o *canc.* before obeyent
 15–16 commaundem^t/ Well] M.S. commaundem^t Well
 loke *canc.* before loke

10 seruauntes/ wt^t] MS.
 15 o *canc.* before *interl.*; 31 of *interl.*; 34 not *interl.*
 33 & *canc.* before that shewed

vssher to goe down & bryng hym perfight word/ Who goyng
 down the stayers lokyng down at the loope/ where he sawe therle/
 who than retorneed to my lord & shewed hym that it was very
 he/ than/ q^d my lord/ I ame sory that we haue dyned for I feare
 5 that our officers be not stored of any plenty of good ffysshē/ to
 make hym suche honorable chere/ as to hys estate ys con-
 venyent/ Notw^tstandyng he shall haue suche as we haue/ w^t a
 right good wyll and loyng hart/ lett the table be standyng still
 and we woll goo down and meate hym/ and bryng hym vppe
 10 and than he shall se howe ferreforthe we be at our dynner/ w^t
 that he put the table frome hym/ and rose vppe/ goyng down
 he encountred therle vpon the myddes of the stayers/ commyng
 vppe/ w^t all hys men abought hym/ And as sone as my lord
 espied therle he put of hys cappe/ and sayd to hym/ my lord ye
 15 be most hartely welcome (And therw^t they embrased eche other)
 Althoughe my lord/ q^d he/ that I haue often desired and wysshed
 in my hart to se you in my howsse/ yet if ye had loyvd me as I
 do you/ ye wold haue sent me word byfore of yo^r commyng to
 thentent that I myght haue receyved you accordyng to yo^r
 20 honor & myn/ Notw^tstandyng ye shall haue suche cheare as I
 ame able to make you w^t a right good wyll/ trustyng that ye wyll
 accepte the same of me as of yo^r very old & loyng frend/ hopyng
 hereafter to se you oftener whan I shalbe more able and better
 provydyd to receyve you/ w^t better fare/ [f. 77v] And than my
 25 lord toke my lord of Northeumberland by the hand & led hym
 vppe in to the Chamber/ whome folowed all therles seruauntes
 where the table stode in thestate that my lord left it whan he
 rose/ sayeng vnto therle/ Sir nowe ye may perceyve howe
 ferforthe we ware at our dynner/ my lord led therle to the fier
 30 sayng my lord ye shall goo in to my bed chamber where is a
 good fier made for you/ and there ye may shyfte yo^r apparell
 vntill yo^r chamber be made redy therfore lett yo^r male be
 brought vppe and or euer I goo I pray you geve me leave to take
 thes gentilmen yo^r seruauntes by the handes/ And whan he had

2 at the loope *canc. after* lokyng down; my lord *canc. before* therle 8 table
canc. before table 11 vppe/ goyng] MS. vppe goyng 17 he
canc. after if; ye *interl.* 24 the *canc. before* my 28 rose/ sayeng]
 MS. rose sayeng 34 g *canc. before* thes

taken theme all by the handes/ he retourned to therle & sayed
Ah my lord I perceyve well that ye haue obserued my old
preceptes & Instruccions w^{ch}e I gave you whan ye ware abydying
w^t me in yo^r youthe/ w^{ch}e was to cheryshe yo^r fathers old
seruauntes wherof I se here present w^t you a great nomber/ 5
sewerly my lord ye do therin very well and nobly and lyke a wyse
gentilman/ ffor thes be they that will not oonly serue & love you/
but they wyll also lyve & die w^t you/ and be treu & faythfull
seruauntes to you/ And glade to se you prosper in honor/ the
w^{ch}e I beseche god send you w^t long lyve/// 10

Thys sayd/ he toke therle by the hand & led hym in to hys
bedd chamber and they beyng there all alone (save oonly I that
kepte the doore/ accordyng to my dewtie beyng gentilman
vssher) thes ij lordes standyng at a wyndowe/ by the chymney
in my lordes bedd chamber/ therle tremlyng sayed w^t a very faynt 15
& softe voyce/ vnto my lord/ layeng his hand vpon his arme/
My lord/ q^d he/ I arrest you of hyghe treason/ w^t w^{ch}e wordes my
lord was marvelously astonyed standyng bothe still a long space
w^tout any ferther wordes/ but at the last/ q^d my lord/ what
movyth you or by what auctorytie do you this/ fforsythe my 20
lord/ I haue a commyssion to warraunt me/ & my doynges/
where is yo^r commyssion/ q^d my lord/ lett me se yt/ Nay sir that
you may not/ q^d therle/ well than/ q^d my lord/ I wyll not obey
yo^r arrest/ ffor ther hathe byn bytwen some of yo^r predecessors 25
& myn great contencyon & debate growen vpon an auncient
grudge/ w^{ch}e may succed in you w^t lyke inconvenyence as it
hathe done here tofore/ therfor onlesse I se yo^r Auctoryte and
commyssion I wyll not obey you/ Evyn as/ [f. 78] they ware
debatyng this matter bytwen them in the chamber/ So busly
was m^r walshe arrestyng of Doctor Augustyn/ the phisicion/ at 30
the doore w^tin the portall whome I hard saye vnto hym/ goo in
thou traytor or I shall make the/ And w^t that I opyned the
portall doore And the same beyng opyn/ m^r walshe thrust
doctor augustyn in before hym w^t vyolence/ thes matters on

1 retourned] MS. retourned

8 die w^t you/] MS. die/ w^t you

9 prosper] MS. propser

10 you canc. after beseche; to canc. before send

and he before lyve

11 doore/] / written over) 14 vssher)])

written over /

20 by interl. 21 q^d therle canc. after lord/

27 tofore/ therfor] MS. tofore therfor

bothe the sides/ astonyied me very sore/ musyng what all this shold mean/ vntill at the last m^r walshe beyng entered the chamber/ began to plukke of hys hode/ the w^{ch}e he had mad hym w^t a Cote of the same clothe/ of Cotten/ to thentent that
 5 he wold not be knownen/ And after he had pluke it of/ he kneled down to my lord/ to whome my lord spake first sayeng thus (commaundyng hym to stand vppe)/ Sir here my lord of Northumberland hathe arrested me of treason but by what auctorytie or commyssion he shewyth me not but saythe he
 10 hathe oon/ if ye be privye thereto or be Ioyned w^t hym therin/ I pray you shewe me/ In dead my lord/ q^d m^r walshe/ if it please yo^r grace/ it is trewe that he hathe oon/ well than seyd my lorde I pray you lett me se it/ sir I beseche yo^r grace hold vs excused/ q^d m^r walshe/ ther is annexed vnto our commyssion a Sedell w^t
 15 certyn Instruccions w^{ch}e you may in no wyse be prive vnto/ why q^d my lord/ be yo^r Instruccions suche that I may not se themc/ parauenture if I myght be privye to them I cowld the better helpe you to performe theme/ yt is not onknowen vnto you bothe I ame assured but I haue byn privye & of councell in as waytie
 20 matters as this is/ ffor I dought not for my part but I shall prove & cleare my self to be a trewe man/ ayenst theexpectacion/ of all my Cruell ennemyes/ I haue an vnderstanding where vpon all this matter growyth/ well there is no more to do I trowe gentilman ye be oon of the kynges privye chamber yo^r
 25 name I suppose is (walshe) I ame content to yeld vnto you/ but not to my lord of Northumberland/ w^tout I se his commyssion/ And also you are a suffycyent commyssion/ yo^r self in that behalfe in as myche as ye be oon of the kynges privye chamber/ ffor the worst person there/ is a sufficient warraunt to arrest the
 30 greatest peere of this realme/ by the kynges oonly commaundement w^tout any commyssion/ Therfore I ame redy to be ordered & disposed att yo^r wyll/ put ther fore the kynges

1 all interl.

7 hyme interl.

10 Io canc. before w^t

12 lord canc. before lorde

15 wyse interl.

19 ass canc. before

ame

21 cleare] r written over either l or h

22 ennemyes/ I]

MS. I] MS.

ennemyes I

25 name interl.

27 in canc. before yo^r

28 as

interl. before ye

31 co canc. before commyssion;

redy to be interl.

32 ed of ordered and & interl.; to canc. before ordered;

& canc. before &; wyll/

put] MS. wyll put; the kynges interl.

commynsion and yo^r auctory in execucion/ a goddes name/
[f. 78v] And spare not and I wyll obey the kynges wyll &
pleasure/ ffor I feare more the crueltie of my onmercyfull
ennemyes/ than I do my treuthe & allegyaunce/ wherin I take
god to witnes I neuer offendyd the kynges mat^{te} in word or dede 5
And therin I dare stand face to face wt any man a lyve hauyng
Indifferency wtout parcialtie/ Than came my lord of North-
umberland vnto me standyng at the portall doore/ And com-
maundyd me to avoyd the chamber (And beyng lothe to depart
frome my m^r) stode still and wold not remove/ to whome he 10
spake agayn & seyd there is no remedy ye must nedys departe/
wt that I loked vpon my lord (as who sayth shall I goo) vpon
whome my lord loked very hevely/ And shoke at me hys hed/
perceyvyng by hys countenaunce/ it boted me not to abyd/ And
so I departed the chamber/ And went in to the next chamber/ 15
where abode many gentilmen of my fellowes and other/ to
learne of me somme newes of the matter wt in/ To whome I
made report/ what I sawe & hard/ w^{ch}e was to them great hevynes
to here/ Than therle called dyuers gentilmen in to the chamber
w^{ch}e ware for the most part of his owen seruauntes/ And after 20
therle & m^r walshe had taken the keyes of all my lordes cofferrs
frome hym/ they gave the charge & custody of my lordes person
vnto thes gentilmen/ they departed and went abought the
howsse to sett all thynges in order that nyght ayenst the next
mornynge entendyng than to depart frome thence/ wt my lord 25
beyng Saturday the w^{ch}e they deferred vntill Sonday bycause all
thynges cowld not be brought to passe as they wold haue it/ They
went busely a bought to conveye doctor Augustyn a way to
london ward wt as myche sped/ as they cowld sendyng wt
hyme dyuers honest persons to conduct hym who was tied 30
vnder the horsse belly And this don whan it was nyght/ thes
commyssioners assigned ij Grommes of my lordes to attend
vpon hym in his chamber that nyght/ where they lay/ And the
most part of the rest of therles gentilmen seruauntes whatched

1 yo^r canc. before commyssion, in before and, and & before in; and yo^r and
in interl. 15 de canc. before I 17 howe canc. after newes; of interl.
before the 20 after interl. 27 all th canc. before cowld 28 to
canc. before a way 34 of canc. before part; gentilmen interl.; wath canc.
before whatched

in the next chamber and abought the howsse contynually vntill
the morowe/ And the porter kept the gatess so that no man
cowld goo in ne owt vntill the next mornyng at w^{ch}e tyme my
lord rose vppe supposyng that he shold haue departed that day//
5 howbeit he was kept cloose secretly in his [f. 79] chamber
expectyng contynually his departure frome thence/ Than therle
sent for me in to his owen chamber/ And beyng there/ he com-
maundyd me to goo in to my lord and there to geve attendaunce
vppon hym/ And charged me vppon an othe that I shold
10 obserue certyn Articles/ And goyng away frome hym towards
my lord/ I met w^t m^r walshe/ in the Court/ who called me vnto
hyme & led me in to hys chamber/ And there shewed me that
the kynges highnes bare towards me his pryncely fauour for
my dyligent & true seruyce that I dayly mynstered towards my
15 lord & m^r/ wherfore/ q^d he/ the kynges pleasure is/ that ye shalbe
abought yo^r m^r as most cheffest person in whome his highnes
puttyth great confidence/ And assured trust/ whos pleasure is
therfore that ye shalbe sworne vnto hys ma^{tie} to obserue certyn
articles in writyng the w^{ch}e I wold deliuere you/ Sir/ q^d I/ my lord
20 of Northumberland hathe all redy sworne me to dyuers
articles/ yea/ q^d he/ but my lord cowld not delyuer you the
articles in writyng as I ame commaundyd specyally to do
therfore I delyuer you this byll w^t thes articles/ to the w^{ch}e ye
shalbe sworne to fulfill/ Sir than/ q^d I/ I pray you to geve me
25 leave to pervse theme or euer I be sworne to se if I be able to
performe theme// w^t a right good wyll/ q^d he/ And whan I had
pervsed theme and vnderstod that they ware but reasonable &
tollerable/ I answered that I was contented to obey the kynges
pleasure and to be sworne to the performaunce of them/ And so
30 he gave me an newe othe/ And than I resorted to my lord where
he was in his chamber sytting in a chayer the table beyng
couered redy for hym to goo to dynner/ but as sone as he
perceyved me commyng in/ he fill in to suche an wooffull
lamentacion w^t suche rewfull termes & waterye eyes/ that it wold
35 haue caused the flyntiest hart to haue relented & burst for
sorowe/ And as I and other cowld comforted hym but it wold

3 goo interl.; owte canc. before owt; ro canc. before at 9 hym[e] MS.
hyyme 18 hi canc. before matie 36 sorye canc. before sorowe

not be/ ffor nowe/ q^d he/ that I se this gentilman/ (meanyng by
me) howe faythefull/ howe diligent/ And howe paynfull, synce
the begynneng of my troble/ he hathe serued me/ Abandonyng
his owen contrie/ his wyfe & [f. 79v] childerne/ his howsse &
famelye/ his rest & quyotnes/ only to serue me/ And remembryng 5
w^t my self that I haue no thyng to reward hym for his honest
merytes grevythe me not a littill/ And also the sight of hym
puttythe me in remembraunce of the nomber of my faythfull
seruaentes/ that I haue here remaynyng w^t me in this howsse
whome I did intend to haue preferred & auaunced to the best 10
of my power frome tyme to tyme as occasion shold serue/ but
nowe alas I ame preventyd/ & haue no thyng laft me to reward
theme/ ffor all is depryved me/ and I ame laft here ther desolat
& myserable m^r bare & wretched/ w^tout helpe or socoure but of
god alone// howbeit/ q^d he/ to me (callyng me by my name)/ 15
I ame a trewe man and therfore ye shall neuer receyve shame of
me for yo^r seruyce/ I perceyvyng his heuynes & lamentable
wordes sayd thus vnto hym/ my lord I mystrust no thyng yo^r
trewthe/ And for the same I dare & wyll be sworne/ byfore the
kynges person and hys honorable Councell/ wherfore (knelyng 20
vpon my knee byfore hym)/ sayd/ my lord comfort yo^r self and
be of good chere/ the malice of yo^r oncharitable ennemyes nor
ther ontrouthe shall neuer prevayle ayenst yo^r truthe and
faythfulnes/ ffor I dought not but commyng oons to yo^r
answere/ my hope is suche that ye shall so acquyt & cleare yo^r 25
self of all ther surmysed & fayned accusacions that it shall be to
the kynges contentacion and myche to yo^r auauncement &
restitucion of yo^r former dygnyte & estate/ yea/ q^d he/ if I may
come to myn answere I feare no man a lyve/ ffor he lyvyth not
vpon the yerthe that shall loke vpon this face (poyntyng to 30
his owen face)/ shall be able to accuse me of any ontrouthe/ And
that knowyth myn ennemyes full well/ w^the woll be an occasion
that I shall not haue Indifferent Iustice/ but woll rather seke
some other synyster wayes to distroy me/ Sir/ q^d I/ ye nede not
therin to dowght the kyng beyng so myche yo^r good lord as he 35
hathe allwayes shewed hym self to be/ in all yo^r trobles/ w^t that
came vppe my lordes meate/ and so we left our commynycacion/

I gave hyme water & satt hym down to dynner (wt whome sate
 dyuers of therles gentilmen)/ notw^t standyng my lord did eate
 very littill meate/ but wold many tymes burst owte sodenly in
 teares wt the most sorowfullest [f. 80] wordes that hathe byn
 5 hard of any wofull creature/ And at the last he fetched a great
 sighe frome the bottome of his hart sayeng thes wordes of
 scripture/ *O constancia martirum laudabilis/ O charitas in-*
extinguibilis/ O pacientia/ Invincibilis// Que licet inter pressuras
persequencium visa sit despicabilis// Invenietur in laudem et
 10 *gloriam et honorem in tempore tribulacionis/* And thus passed he
 forthe his dynner in great lamentacion & hevynes/ who was
 more fed & moysted wt sorowe & teares than wt owther
 pleasaunt metes or dylicate drynkes// I suppose there was not a
 drie eye among all the gentilmen/ sytting at the table wt hyme/
 15 And whan the table was taken vppe/ it was shewed my lord that
 he could not remove that nyght (who expected none other all
 that daye)// q^d he/ evyn whan it shall seme my lord of North-
 umberland good/ the next day my lord prepared hym self
 (beyng Sonday) to ride/ whan he shold be commaundyd/ And
 20 after dynner/ be that tyme that therle hadde appoyned all thyng
 in good order wt in the castell/ yt drewe fast to nyght/ there was
 assigned to attend vpon hym fyve of vs his owen seruauntes
 and no mo/ that was to sey/ I/ oon chapleyn/ his barbor & ij
 Gromes of his chamber/ And whan he shold goo down the
 25 stayers owt of the great chamber my lord demaundyd for the
 rest of his seruauntes/ therle answered that they ware not farre
 (the w^{ch}e he had enclosed wt in the Chappell by cause they shold
 not disquoyot his departure) sir I pray you/ q^d my lord/ lett me se
 theme or euer I depart or elles I woll neuer goo owt of this
 30 howsse/ alake my lord/ q^d therle/ they shold troble you therfore
 I beseche you to content yo^r self/ well/ q^d my lord/ than wyll I
 not depart owt of this howsse but I wyll se theme & take my
 leave of theme in this chamber/ And his seruauntes beyng
 inclosed in the chappell hauyng vnderstandingyng of my lordes

2 ge with g written over s canc. before gentilmen 5 at interl. 6 s canc.
 before sayeng 8 ter of interl interl. 9 despicabilis] MS. desplicabilis;
 e canc. after Invenietur 13 pleasaunt] MS. pleasauntes; metes interl.
 21 d canc. before nyght 22 fyve and vs interl. 23 v seruauntes
 canc. before and 33 byfore I goo owt of canc. before in; in interl.

departyng awaye and that they shold not se hym before his
departure/ began to grudge and to make such a rewfull noyce/
that the commyssioners dowted some tumult or enconvenyence
to aryse by reason therof/ thought it good to lett them passe owt
to my lord/ and that don they came to hym in to the great 5
chamber where he was [f. 80v] and there they kneled down/
byfore hym among whome was not oon drie eye/ but pytifully
lamentyd ther maysters fall and troble/ to whome my lord gave
comfortable wordes and worthy praysis for ther dyligent
faythfullnes & honest treuthe/ towardes hym/ assureng them 10
that what chaunces so euer shold happen vnto hym that he is a
true man and a lust to his souerayn lord and thus w^t a lamentable
maner shakynge eche of them by the handes was fayn to departe
the nyght drewe so fast vppon theme/ My lordes mewle & our
horsys ware redy brought in to the Inner Court where we 15
mounted/ and commyng to the gate/ w^{ch}e was shett the porter
opened the same/ to lett vs passe/ where was redy attenyng a
great nomber of gentilmen w^t ther seruauntes (suche as therle
assigned) to conduct & auttend vppon hys person/ that nyght to
Pumfrett and so forthe as ye shall here/ here after/ But to tell 20
you of the nomber of people of the Contrie that ware assembled
at the gates w^{ch}e lamentyd his departyng/ was wonderous/ w^{ch}e
was abought the nomber of iij M^l persons/ who at the opynynge
of the gattes after they had a sight of his person/ cried all w^t a
lowd voyce/ god save yo^r grace/ god save yo^r grace/ the fowlle 25
evyll take all theme that hath thus taken you frome vs we pray
god that a very vengeance may light vppon theme/ thus they
ran crieng after hym thoroughe the town of Cawood they
lovyd hym so well/ for suerly they had a greate losse of hym
bothe the poore & the Riche/ ffor the poore had of hym great 30
releafe/ and the riche lakked his councell in any busynes that
they had to do/ w^{ch}e caused hym to haue suche love among
theme/ in the Contrie/ Than rode he w^t his conductors towards
Pumfrett/ and by the way as he rode he axed me if I had any
famylier acquayntaunce among thes gentilmen that rode w^t 35

2 departure] MS. depture 3 enconvenyence] final e frayed away
at edge of page 4 to arisse canc. before to aryse; reso canc. before reason
5 to interl. before the 6 was] s frayed away at edge of page 12 sh canc.
before w^t 29 theme canc. before second hyme 32 the canc. before suche

hyme/ yea sir sayd I what is yo^r pleasure/ mary/ q^d he/ I haue left
a thynge behynd me w^{ch}e I wold fayn haue/ Sir sayd I if I knewe
what it ware I wold send for it owt of hand/ Then sayed he lett
the messanger goo to my lord of Northumberland/ and desier
5 hym to send me the [f. 81] Red bokerham bagg lyeng in my
Almery in my chamber sealed w^t my seale/ w^t that I departed
frome hym/ and went strayt vnto sir Roger lasselles knyght
who was than Steward to therle of Northeumberland beyng
among the rowt of horssemen as oon of the cheaffest rewlers/
10 whome I desired to send some of hys seruautes bake vnto
therle his m^r for that purpose the w^{ch}e graunted most gently my
request and sent incontynent oon of his seruautes vnto my
lord to Cawood for the sayd bagg/ who did so honestly his
mesuage that he brought the same to my lord Immedyatlly after
15 he was in his chamber w^t in the Abbey of Pumfrett where he lay
all nyght/ In w^{ch}e bagg was no other thynge enclosed but ijre
shyrtes of heare w^{ch}e he delyuerd to the chapleyne his gostly
father very secretly/ ffurthermore as we roode toward Poumfrett
my lord demaundyd of me/ whether they wold lede hym that
20 nyght/ fforsythe sir/ q^d I/ but to Poumfrett/ Alas/ q^d he/ shall
I goo to the Castell and lye there & dye lyke a beast/ Sir I can
tell you no more what they do entend but sir I wyll enquier
here among thes gentilmen of a specyall frend of myn whoo is
cheafe of all ther councell/ w^t that I repayed vnto the sayd
25 sir Roger lasselles knyght desiryng hym most earnestly that he
wold vouche salve to shewe me whether my lord shold goo to
be logged that nyght who answered me agayn that my lord shold
be lodged w^t in the abbey of Poumfrett and in non other place/
and so I reported to my lord who was glade therof/ so that w^t in
30 nyght we came to Poumfrett Abbey & there logged And therle
remayned still all that nyght in Cawood castell/ to se the dispeche
of the houshold/ And to establissh all the stuffe/ in some
sewterie w^tin the same/ The next day they removed w^t my lord

2 I wold] MS. I I wold 4 and desier hyme / canc. after Northumber-
land/ 5 buke/ canc. before bagg 7 knyght interl. and
canc. before knyght; knyght interl. 9 rewlers canc. before rewlers
16 nyght/ In] MS. nyght In 19 whether interl. 20 nyght/
fforsothe] MS. nyght fforsothe 21 of canc. before and 22 do
interl. 23 d canc. after myn 24 councell/ w^t] MS. coun-
cell w^t 25 h canc. after most

towarde Dancaster desyryng that he myght come thereto by nyght by cause the people folowed hym wepyng & lamentyng/ and so they dyd neuer the lesse althoughe he came in by torche lyght/ crieng (god save yo^r grace) god save yo^r grace my good lord Cardynall/ runnyng byfore hym w^t Candelles in ther 5 handes/ Who caused me therfore to ride hard by his mule to shadowe hym frome the people/ and yet they perceyved hym cursyng his ennemyes/ And/ [f. 81v] thus they brought hym to the blake ffreers w^t in the w^{ch}e they logged hym that nyght/ And the next day we removed to Sheffeld parke where therle of 10 Shrewsbury lay w^t in the loge/ and all the way therward the people cried & lamented as they dyd in all places as we rode byfore/ And whan we came to the parke of Sheffeld nyghe to the logge my lord of Shrewsbury w^t my lady his wyfe a trayn of gentillwomen And all my lordes gentilmen & yomen/ standyng 15 w^tout the gattes of the logge to attend my lordes commyng to receyve hym w^t myche honor whome therle embraced sayeng thes wordes/ My lord/ q^d he/ yo^r grace is most hertely welcome vnto me And glade to se you in my poore logge the w^{ch}e I haue often desired/ And myche more gladder if you had come after an 20 other sort/ Ah my gentill lord of Shrowesbury/ q^d my lord/ I hertely thanke you/ And althoughe I haue no cause to reioyce/ yet as a sorowfull hart may Ioye/ I reioyce my chaunce w^{ch}e is so good to come in to the handes & custody of so noble a person/ whos approved honour & wysdome hathe byn allwayes right 25 well knownen to all nobell estates/ And sir howe so euer my ongentill accusers hathe vsed ther accusacions ayenst me/ yet I assure you and so by fore yo^r lordshipe and all the world I do protest that my demeanor & procedynges hathe byn Iust and loyall towarde my souerayn & liege lord/ of whos behauor & 30 doynges yo^r lordshipe hathe had good experyence/ And evyn accordyng to my trowthe & faythfulnes/ so I beseche god helpe me in this my calamytie/ I dought no thyng of yo^r trouthe/ q^d therle/ therfore my lord I beseche you be of good chere/ and feare not/ for I haue receyved letters frome the kyng of his owen 35 hand/ in yo^r fauour And entertaynyng the w^{ch}e you shall se/ Sir

6 handes/ Who] MS. handes Who

23 a interl.

24 th canc. after good

9 that] hat written over o

30 lyge canc. before liege;

of interl.

I ame no thyng sory but that I haue not wherw^t worthely to receyve you & to entertayn you accordyng to yo^r honour & my good wyll/ but suche as I haue ye are most hartely welcome thereto desiryng you to accept my good wyll accordyngly/ ffor
 5 I woll not receyve you as a prisoner but as my good lord and the kynges trewe faythfull subiecte/ And here is my wyfe/ come to salute you/ whome my lord kyst barehedyd/ and all hir gentil-women/ [f. 82] and toke my lordes seruauntes by the handes as well gentilmen & yomen/ as other/ than thes ij lordes went
 10 arme in arme in to the logge conductyng my lord in to a fayer Chamber at thend of a goodly gallery w^t in a newe tower where my lord was lodged/ there was also in the myddes of the same Gallery a trauers of Sarcenet drawnen so that thoon part was preserued for my lord & thother part for therle///

15 **Than departed all** the great nomber of gentillmen and other that conducted my lord to therles of Shrewsburyes/ And my lord beyng there contynued there xvij^{en} dayes after/ vpon whome therle appoyned dyuers gentilmen of his seruauntes to serue my lord for as myche as he had a small nomber of
 20 seruauntes there to serue/ and also to se that he laked no thyng that he wold desier/ beyng serued in his owen chamber at dynner and Supper as honorably and w^t as many daynty disshes as he had most comenly in his owen howsse beyng at libertie/ And oons euery day therle wold resorte vnto hym And sitt w^t
 25 hym commonyng vpon a benche in a great wyndowe in the Gallery And though therle wold right hartely comfort hym yet wold he lament so pitiously that it wold make therle very sory & hevye for his greve/ Sir sayd he/ I haue & daylye do receyve letters frome the kyng commaundyng me to entertayn
 30 you as oon that he lovythe and hyghely fauoryth wherby I perceyve ye do lament w^tout any great cause myche more than ye nede/ to do/ And though ye be accused (as I thynke in god fayth) oniustly/ yet the kyng can do no lesse but put you to yo^r triall/ the w^{ch}e is more for the satisfieng of some persons/ than he

2 ente canc. before entertayn; entertayn you] you written over w^t 4 you
 interl.; & canc. before accordyngly 10 and canc. before conductyng
 20 to ser canc. before there 26 com canc. before comfort 28 do
 canc. before daylye 32 d canc. before nede; ye be interl.; thyng canc.
 before thynke; thynke interl. 34 the interl. after for

hathe for any mystrust in yo^r doyenges/ Alas/ q^d my lord/ to therle/ ys it not a pitious case that any man shold so wrongfully accuse me vnto the kynges person And not to come to myn Answere/ byfore his ma^{tie}/ ffor I ame well assured (my lord) that there is no man alyve or deade that lokythe in this face of myn/ 5 is able to accuse me of any disloyaltie towardes the kyng/ Oh howe myche than dothe it grevythe me/ that the kyng shold haue/ [f. 82v] any suspycyous oppynyon in me to thynke that I wold be false or conspire any evyll to his Royall person/ who may well consider that I haue no assured frend in all the world 10 in whome I put my trust but oonly in his grace/ ffor if I shold goo abought to be traye my souerayn lord and prynce/ in whome is all my trust and confidence byfore all other persons/ all men myght iustly thynke & report/ that I lakked not oonly grace but also bothe wytte & discretion/, Nay, Nay, my lord I wold rather 15 adventure to shed my hart bloode/ in his defence/ as I ame bound to do by myn allegeaunce/ and Also for the savegard of my self/ than to Imagen his distruction/ ffor he is my stafe that supportethe me/ And the wall that defendyth me/ ayenst my malygaunt ennemyes/ and all other who knowythe best my 20 trewthe byfore all men and hathe had therof best & longest expyrence/ therfore to conclude/ it is not to be thought that euer I wold goo abought or entend maliciously or trayterously to travell or whyshe/ any preiudice/ or dammage to his Royall person/ or Imperyall dignytie/ but as I sayd/ defend it w^t the 25 shedyng of my hart blode/ and procure all men so to do/ And it ware but oonly for the defence of myn own person/ and symple estate (the w^{ch} my ennemyes thynke I do so myche esteme) hauyng non other refuge/ to flee to for defence or socoure in all aduersitie/ but vnder the shadowe of his maties wyng/ Alas my 30 lord/ I was in a good estate nowe & in case of a quyot lyvynge right well content therw^t/ but the ennemy that neuer slepithe but studyeth & contynually Imagynyth/ bothe slepyng & wakynge my vtter distruction/ perceyyvthe the contentacion of 2 it interl.

6 disho *canc. after* any; disloyaltie *interl.*; dylloyalltie/
canc. before towards 7 than dothe *interl.* 12 p *canc. before*
 and 16 to *interl. and canc. before* adventure 20 knowythe best
interl.; knowyst best *canc. before* my 22 expyrence/ therfore] MS.
 expyrence therfore 23 wold *interl.* 24 to *interl. before* travell
 28 & *canc. before* I 34 to *canc. before* my

my mynd/ doughted that ther malicious & cruell dealyng wold
at lengthe growe to ther shame & rebuke/ goythe abought
therfore to prevent the same w^t shedyng of my blode/ but frome
god (that knowythe the secrettes of ther hertes And of all
5 others) it cannot be hyd/ ne yet onrewardyd whan he shall se
opportunyte/ ffor my good lord if ye wyll shewe yo^r self so
myche my good frend as to requyer the kynges mat^{ie} by yo^r
letters/ that my accusers may come byfore my face in his
presence/ And there that I may make answere/ I dought not
10 but ye shall se me acquyte my self of all ther [f. 83] malicious
acusacions/ And vtterly confound them/ ffor they shall neuer
be able to prove by any dewe probacions that cuer I offendyd
the kyng in wyll thought & deade/ therfore sir I desier you and
most hartely requyer yo^r good lordshipe to be a meane for me
15 that I may answere vnto my accusers byfore the kynges mat^{ie}//
The case is his/ and if ther accusacions shold be true/ than shold
it touche no man but hym most earnestly/ wherfore it ware
most convenient that he shold here it hymself in propir person/
but I feare me/ that they do entend rather to depeche me then
20 I shold com byfore hym/ in his presence/ for they be well
assured And very certeyn that my trouthe shold vanquesshe
ther ontrouwthe/ And surmysed accusacions w^che is the specyall
cause that moythe me so earnestly to desier to make my
Answere/ byfore the kynges mat^{ie}/ the losse of goodes// the
25 slander of my name/ ne yet all my troble grevyth me no thyng
so myche as the losse of the kynges fauour/ and that he shold
haue in me suche an oppynyon w^tout deserte/ of ontrouwthe/ that
hathe w^t suche travell & payn serued his heyghenes so Iustly/
so paynfully and w^t so faythfull an hart to his profett & honor/ at
30 all tymes/ And also agayn the trouthe of my doynges ayenst ther
oniust accusacyons/ proved most Iust and loyall shold be myche
to my honestie/ and do me more good than to attayn great
treasure/ As I dought not but it wyll if they myght be Indiffer-
ently hard/ Nowe my good lord way ye my reasonable request/

1 that interl. 3 therfore to canc. before therfore 4 of interl. before
ther 12 dewe interl. 16 be canc. before shold be 17 hym
y written over e 18 ly canc. after convenient 19 I en canc.
before they 31 do canc. before be and most after be 33 bu canc.
before not

And lett charitie/ and trouthe move yo^r noble hart w^t pitie to
helpe me in all this my trowthe/ wherin ye shall take no maner
of slander or rebuke (by the grace of god)// Well than/ q^d my
lord of Shrewsbury/ I woll wright to the kynges ma^tie/ in yo^r
behalf declaryng to hym by my letters howe grevously ye 5
lament his displeasure & Indignacion/ And what request ye
make for the triall of yo^r trewthe towardes his heighnes/ Thus
after thes commynycacions & dyuers others (as bytwen theme
dayly was accustumed) they departed a sonder/ where my lord
contynued the space after of a fourthyng haueng goodly & 10
honorable entartaynme^t whome therle wold often requyer hym
to kyll a doo or ij ther in the parke/ [f. 83v] who allwayes
refused all maner of earthely pleasures & dispordes oþher in
huntyng or in other games/ but applied his prayers contynually
very devoutly/ So that it came to passe at certayne season sittynge at 15
dynner in his owen chamber hauyng at his bordes end that same
day (as he dyuers tymes had to accompanye hym)/ a messe of
therles gentillmen & chappleyns/ And etyng of Rosted wardens at
thend of his dynner/ by fore whome I stode at the table dressyng
of thos wardens for hym beholdingyng of hym perceyved hys 20
Colour often to chaynge and alter dyuers tymes wherby I Iuged
hyme nott to be in helthe/ w^che caused me to leane ouer the table/
sayeng onto hym/ softly/ Sir me semys yo^r grace/ is not well at
ease/ he answered agayn and seyd/ forsothe no more I ame/ for
I ame/ q^d he/ sodenly taken/ abought my stomake/ w^t a thyng 25
that lyethe ouerthwart my brest as cold as a whetston/ the w^che
is but wynd/ therfore I pray you take vppe the clothe/ and make
ye a short dynner/ and resort shortly agayn vnto me/ And after
that the table was taken vppe/ I went & sat the wayters to dynner
w^tout in the Gallery/ And resorted agayn to my lord where I 30
found hym still syttynge where I left hym very evyll at ease/
Norw^tstandyng he was in commynycacions w^t the gentilmen
sittynge at the bordes end/ And asson as I was entred the Chamber
he desired me/ to goo down to the pottecarie/ And to enquier

1 noble interl. 8 theme interl. 20 hyme] MS. hymee 22 o canc.
before ouer 29 that interl.; that that with second that interl. canc.
before table; a superfluous the is interl. after the cancellation and before table
30 I canc. before And; And interl. 32 commynngacions]s written over e
33 sittynge interl. 34 to canc. after down; to interl. before the

of hymē/ whether he had any thyng that wold breke wynd
 vpward/ and accordyng to hys commaundeme^t I went my way
 towardeſ the pottecarye/ and by the way I remembord oon
 article of myn othe byfore made vnto m^r walshe/ w^che caused me
 5 first to goo to therle/ and shewed hymē bothe what estate he was
 in/ & also what he desired at the potticaries hand for his releafe/
 w^t that therle caused the pottecarie to be called Incontynent
 byfore hymē/ of whome he demaundyd whether he had any
 thyng to breke wynd that troblyth oon in his brest/ And he
 10 answered that he had suche gere/ than q^d therle/ fetche me some
 hether/ the w^che the pottecarie brought in a whight paper a
 certyn wyht confecccion/ vnto therle/ who commaundyd me to
 geve the assay therof to the pottecarie/ and so I did byfore hymē/
 And than I departyd therw^t bryngyng it to my lord byfore whome
 15 I toke also the assay therof And delyuerd the same [f. 84] to my
 lord who receyved the same holy all together at oons/ and
 Imedyally after he had receyved the same/ sewerly he avoydyd
 excedyng myche wynd vppward/ loo q^d he/ nowe ye may se that
 it was but wynd/ but by the means of this recepte/ I ame (I thanke
 20 god) well eased/ And so he rose frome the table and went to hys
 prayers as he accustumedly did after dynner/ And beyng at hys
 prayers there came vpon hymē suche a laske/ that it caused
 hymē to goo to his stoole/ And beyng there therle sent for me/
 And at my Commynge he sayd/ ffor as myche as I haue allwayes
 25 perceyved in you to be a man in whome my lord yor m^r hathe
 great affiaunce/ and for my exeryence/ knowyng you to be an
 honest man/ (w^t many moo wordes of commendacions than
 nedes here to be reherced)/ sayed it is so that my lord yor
 lamentable m^r hathe often desyred me to wright to the kynges
 30 mat^te that he myght come vnto his presence to make awnswere to
 his accusacions/ And evyn so haue I don/ ffor thys day haue
 I receyved letters frome hys grace/ by sir willam kyngstone

3 and by the way interl.	4 by canc. after made	6 what] t	
written over h	9 that t canc. after wynd	10 he canc. before	
answered	12 wyht interl.	15 to canc. after same	16 lord
canc. before lord	18 h canc. before loo and e after se	19 ame	
interl.	24 a single indecipherable letter canc. before allwaves	25 of	
canc. after man	26 affiaunce] MS. affiaunce	27 here to canc.	
before than	28 be interl.	31 so interl.	32 kyngstone]
MS. kyngstone			

knyght wherby I do perceyve that the kyng hathe in hym a
very good oppynyon/ and vpon my often request he hathe sent
for hym by the seyd sir w^m kyngston to come vppe to answe
accordyng to hys owen desier/ who is in his chamber/ wher for
nowe is the tyme come that my lord hathe often desired to trie 5
hyme self & his truthe (as I trust) myche to hys honor/ And I
put no doughtes in so doyng that it shall be for hym the best
Iourney that euer he made/ in all his lyfe/ Therfore nowe I wold
haue you to play the part of a wyse man/ to breke fyrist this
matter vnto hym so wittely & in suche a sort that he myght take 10
it quyotly in good parte/ for he is euer so full of Sorrowe/ & dolor
in my company that I feare me he wyll take it in evyll part/ And
than he dothe not well for I assure you (and so shewe hym) that
the kyng is hys good lord And hathe gevyn me the most worthy
thankes for his entaynmet desiryng & commaundyng me so to 15
contynewc/ not doughtyng but that he wyll right nobly acquyte
hyme self towarde hys heyghnes/ Therfore goo yo^r wayes to
hyme/ and so perswad wt hym that I may fynd hym in good
quyot at my commyng for I wyll not tary long after you/ Sir/ q^d
I/ I shall if it please yo^r [f. 84v] lordshipe endevour me to 20
accomplyshe your commaundemet to the best of my power
but sir I dought oon thyng/ that whan I shall name (sir w^m
kyngeston) he wyll mystrust that all is not well because he is
Constable of the tower/ And Capteyn of the Gard hauyng
xxiiij^t of the gard to attend vpon hym/ Mary it is treuthe q^d 25
therle/ what therof though he be constable of the tower/ yet he
is the most meatest man for his wysdome/ and discession to be
sent abought any suche messwage/ And for the gard it is for
none other purpose but oonly to defend hym/ Ayenst all them
that wold entend hym any evyll owther in word or deade/ And 30
allso they be all or for the most part suche of hys old seruauntes
(as the kyng toke of late in to hys seruyce) to thentent that they
shold attend vpon hym most Iustly and dothe knowe best
howe to serue hym/ well sir/ I wyll do what I can/ And so
departed toward my lord/ And at my repayer/ I found hym 35
sytyng at the vpper end of the Gallery vpon a trussynge chest

3 y canc. after the 4 for interl. 8 nowe interl. 12 it interl.
20 s I shall canc. before endevour and th after me 24-25 hauyng
xxiiij^t of the gard interl. 33 attend interl. 36 t canc. before trussynge

of hys owen/ w^t hys beedes & staffe in his handes/ And espieng
 me commyng frome therle/ he demaundyd of me/ what newes
 nowe/ q^d he/ fforsothe/ sir q^d I/ the best newes that euer came to
 you if yo^r grace can take it well/ I pray god it be what is it/ q^d
 5 he/ ffor sothe/ q^d I/ my lord of Shrewesbury perceyvyng by yo^r
 often commynycacion/ that ye ware allwayes desyrous to come
 byfore the kynges mat^{ie}/ And nowe as yo^r most assured frend
 hathe travelled so w^t his letters vnto the kyng/ that the kyng
 hathe sent for you by m^r kyngeston/ And xxijijth of the gard to
 10 conduct you to his highnes/ M^r kyngeston/ q^d he/ rehersyng his
 name oons or twyse/ And w^t that clapped his hand vpon his
 thyghe/ And gave a great sighe/ Sir/ q^d I/ yf yo^r grace cowld or
 wold take all thynges in good parte/ it shold be myche better for
 you/ content yo^r self therfore for goddes sake/ And thynke that
 15 god and yo^r frendes hathe wrought for you accordyng to yo^r
 owen desier/ Dyd ye not allwayes whisshe/ that ye myght cleare
 yo^r self by fore the kynges person/ Nowe that godd & yo^r
 frendes hathe brought yo^r desier to passe/ ye will not take it
 thankfully/ yf ye consider yo^r treuthe and loyaltie vnto our
 20 souerayn lord ayenst the w^{ch} yo^r ennemyes cannot prevayle (the
 kyng beyng yo^r good lord as he is) you knowe well that the kyng
 can do no lesse than he dothe/ you beyng to his highnes accused
 of some heynous cryme/ but cause you to be brought to yo^r
 triall/ And there to receyve accordyng to yo^r demerittes the
 25 w^{ch} his highenes trustithe and sayth no lesse but that you shall
 prove yo^r self a Iust man to his mat^{ie}/ [f. 85] wherin ye haue
 more cause to reioyse than thus to lament or mystrust his
 fauorable Iustice/ ffor I assure you yo^r ennemyes be more in
 dought & feare of you/ than you of them/ that they whisshe that
 30 thyng (that I trust) they shall neuer be able to bryng to passe w^t
 all ther wyttes the kyng (as I seyd before) beyng yo^r Indifferent
 & syngular good lord & frend/ And to prove that he so is/ se ye
 not howe he hathe sent gentill m^r kyngeston/ for you w^t suche
 men as ware yo^r old treu seruauntes and yet be/ as fferre as it
 35 becommynthe them to be/ oonly to attend vpon you for the want

3 sir q^d I] MS. sir I

5 I canc. before I

18 hathe b brought

canc. before hathe

22 to interl.; seruaunt canc. before

accused

25 heyghes canc. before highenes

26 trust canc. before Iust

30 be

ha canc. before be

33 kyngstos canc. after m^r

of yo^r owen seruauntes/ willyng also m^r kyngeston/ to reuerence
you w^t as myche honour as was dewe to you in yo^r hyghe estate/
And to convey you by suche easy Iourneyes as ye shall com-
maund hym to do/ and that ye shall haue all yo^r desiers &
commaundem^{tes}/ by the way/ in euery place to yo^r graces 5
contentacion and honor/ wherfore sir I humbly beseche yo^r grace/
to emprynt all thes Iust perswasions w^t many other Imynent
occasions/ in yo^r discretion/ and be of good cheare/ I most
humbly w^t my faythfull hart requyer yo^r grace/ wherwt ye shall
pryncypally comfort yo^r self/ & next geve all yo^r frendes & to me 10
& other of yo^r seruauntes good hope of yo^r good sped/ well well/
than q^d he/ I perceyve more than ye can Imagyn or do knowe/
experyence/ of old hathe taught me/ And therwt he rose vppe
and went in to his chamber/ to his cloose stoole/ the ffluxe
trobled hym so sore/ and when he had don he came owt agayn 15
and Immedyatly my lord of Shrewsbury came in to the Gallery
vnto hym w^t whome my lord mett/ And then they bothe
sittynge down vpon a benche in a great wyndowe/ therle axed
hyme howe he did/ And he most lamentably (as he was
accustomed) answered thankyngh hym for his gentill enter- 20
taynme^t/ Sir/ q^d therle/ if ye remember ye haue often whisshed
in my company to make answere byfore the kyng/ And I as
desirous to helpe yo^r request/ as you to whishe/ beryng toward
you my good wyll/ hathe writtyn especyally to the kyng in yo^r
behalf makyngh hym also privye of yo^r lamentable sorowe/ that 25
ye inwardly receyve for his hyghe displeasure/ who acceptyth all
thynges & yo^r doynges therin as frendes/ [f. 85^v] be accustomed
to do in suche cases/ wherfore I wold advyse you to pluke vppe
yo^r hart and be not agast of yo^r ennemyes/ who I assure you
haue you in more dowght than ye wold thynke/ perceyvyng that 30
the kyng is fully mynded to haue the heryng of yo^r case byfore
his owen person/ nowe sir if ye can be of good chere/ I dought
not but this Iourney w^{ch}e ye shall take towardes his highnes
shalbe myche to yo^r auauncemet and An ouerthrowe of yo^r
ennemyes/ the kyng hathe sent for you by that worshypfull 35

1 to honour you w^t canc. before to

2 indecipherable letter canc. before grace; grace interl.

14 sto canc. before close

canc. before case

7 other interl.

grace interl.

24 wyll/ hathe]

MS. wyll hathe

9 a single

well/ interl.

31 grace

MS. person nowe

knÿght m^r kyngeston/ And w^t hymē xxiiij^{ti} of yo^r old seruauntes/
w^{chē} be nowe of the Gard to defend you ayenst yo^r onknowen
ennemyes to thentent that ye may savely come vnto his mat^{ie}/
Sir/ q^d my lord/ as I supposse m^r kyngeston is Constable of the
tower/ yea, what of that,/ q^d therle/ I assure you he is oonly
appoyneted by the kyng for oon of yo^r ffrendes & for a discret
gentilman/ as most worthy to take vppon hymē the save conduct
of yo^r person/ for w^tout faylle the kyng fauorethe you myche
more/ And beryth towrdes you a specyall secrett fauor ferre
other wyse than ye do take it/ well sir/ q^d my lord/ as god wyll so
beit/ I ame subiect to fortune And to ffortune I commytt my
self beyng a trewe man redy to accepte suche ordynance as god
hathe prouydyd for me/ And ther an end/ sir I pray you where
is m^r kyngeston/ Mary/ q^d therle/ if ye wyll I woll send for
hyme/ who wold most gladly se you/ I pray you than/ q^d he/ send
for hymē/ at whos message/ he came Incontynent/ and assone as
my lord espied hymē commyng in to the gallery he made hast to
encounter hymē/ M^r kyngeston came towrdes hymē w^t myche
reuerence/ at his approche he kneled down and saluted hymē on
the kynges behalfe/ whome my lord (bareheded) offred to take
vppe/ but he still kneled/ Than/ q^d my lord/ m^r kyngeston/ I pray
you stand vppe/ And leve yo^r knelyng vnto a very wretche/
replett w^t mysery not worthy to be esteemed but for a vile
abiechte/ vttirly cast a way w^tout desert/ And therfore good m^r
kyngeston/ stand vppe or I woll my self knele down by you/ w^t
that m^r kyngeston stod vppe sayeng w^t humble reuerence/ Sir
the kynges mat^{ie} hath hymē commendyd vnto you/ I thanke
his hyghnes/ q^d my lord/ I trust he be in helthe & mery/ the
w^{chē} I beseche god long contynewe/ yea w^tout dought/ q^d m^r
kyngeston/ And sir he hathe [f. 86] commaundyd me/ first to sey
vnto you that you shold assure yo^r self that he berythe you as
myche good wyll & fauour as euer he dyd/ And wyllyth you to
be of good chere/ And where report hathe byn made vnto hymē/
that ye shold commytt ayenst his Royall mat^{ie} certyn haynous

5 tower <i>canc. before</i> tower	9 specyall interl.	11 a single in- decipherable letter <i>canc. before</i> subject
<i>canc. before</i> kyngeston	14 three indecipherable letters	
<i>canc. before</i> my	16 hymē / at] MS. hymē at	17 he espied / <i>canc. before</i> to MS. encounter; hymē [M ^r] MS. hymē M ^r
wretche	17-18 to enco <i>canc. before</i> to; to encounter	22 wretche <i>canc. before</i>
24 abieict <i>canc. before</i> abieict		27 you / I] MS. you I

Crymes/ w^{ch}e he thynkythe to be vntrewe/ yet for the mynstracion of Justice in suche casis requysit/ And to avoyd all suspecte/ parcyallytie/ can do no lesse/ at the least/ than to send for you to yo^r triall/ mystrustying no thyng yo^r trowthe & wysdome but that ye shalbe able to acquyt yo^r self ayenst all 5 complayntes & accusacions exibyted ayenst you/ And to take yo^r Iourney towards hym at yo^r owen pleasure/ commaundying me to be attendaunt vpon you w^t mynestracion of dewe reuerence/ And to se yo^r person preserued frome all dammage And Inconvenyences that myght ensewe/ and to elect all suche 10 yo^r old seruautes (nowe his) to serue you by the way/ who hathe most experyence of yo^r diett/ Therfore sir I beseche yo^r grace to be of good chere/ And whan it shall be yo^r good pleasure to take yo^r Iourney I shall geve myn attendaunce/ M^r kyngeston/ q^d my lord/ I thanke you for yo^r good newes/ And sir herof assure yo^r 15 self/ that if I ware as able and as lustie/ as I haue byn but of late/ I wold not fayle to ride w^t you in post/ but sir I ame disseased w^t a fluxe that makyth me very weke/ But m^r kyngeston/ all thes confortable wordes w^{ch}e ye haue spoken be but for a purpose to bryng me in a fooles paradice/ I knowe what is provydid for me/ 20 Notw^tstandyng I thanke you for yo^r good will & paynnes taken abought me/ And I shall w^t all spedē/ make me redy to ride w^t you to morowe/ And thus they fill in to other commynycacion bothe therle and m^r kyngeston/ w^t my lord who commaundyd me to forse and provyde that all thynges myght be made redy to 25 departe/ the morowe after/ I caused all thynges to be thrust vppe & made in a redynes as fast as they could conveniently/ whan nyght came that we shold goo to bed my lord waxed very syke/ thorough hys newe desease/ the w^{ch}e caused hym contynually frome tyme to tyme/ to goo to the stolle all that nyght/ In so 30 myche frome the tyme that his desease toke hym/ vnto the next day he had above 1st stoolles So that he was that day very weke/ the matter that he avoyded was [f. 86v] wonderous blake/ the w^{ch}e phisicions call Colour Adustum/ And whan he perceyved

5 all canc. before yo^r and accusacions before self 8 dewe] d written
 over r 14 attendaunce canc. before attendaunce 16 b canc.
 before byn 20 bryng] r written over e 25 made redy] MS.
 made/ redy 26 be canc. before departe 27 they] MS. thy
 30 stoole canc. before stolle 31 the interl. before tyme 34 whan
 interl.; perceyved canc. before perceyved

it he sayd vnto me/ if I haue not/ q^d he/ some helpe shortly yt
 will cost me my lyfe/ w^t that I caused oon doctor Nicholas a
 Phisicion beyng w^t therle to loke vppon the grosse matter that
 he avoyded vppon sight wherof he determyned/ howe he shold
 5 not lyfe past iiij^{or} or .v. dayes/ yet notw^tstandyng he wold haue
 ridden w^t m^r kyngeston that same day if therle of Shrewsbury
 had not byn/ Therfore in consideracion of hys Infirmyte they
 caused hym to tary all that day/ And the next day he toke his
 Journey w^t m^r kyngeston/ And the Gard/ And as son as they
 10 espied ther old m^r in suche a lamentable estate/ lamented hym
 w^t wepyng eyes whome my lord toke by the handes And dyuers
 tymes by the way as he rode he wold talke w^t theme some tyme
 w^t oon and some tyme w^t an other/ At nyght he was lodged at
 an howsse of therle of Shrewsburys called hardwyke hall/ very
 15 evyll at ease/ the next day he rode to Nothyngham/ And ther
 lodged that nyght more sykker/ and the next day we rode to
 leycester abbey and by the way he waxed so sykke/ that he was
 dyuers tyme lykly to haue fallen frome his mewle/ And beyng
 nyght or we came to the abbey afore seyd/ where at his commyng
 20 in at the gatess the Abbott of the place w^t all his Covent mett
 hym w^t the light of many torches whome they right honorably
 receyved w^t great reuerence/ To whome my lord sayd/ ffather
 abbott I ame come hether to leave my bones among you/ whome
 they brought on his mewle to the stayers foote of his chamber/
 25 and there lighted And m^r kyngeston than toke hym by the
 Arme/ and led hym vppe the stayers (who told me afterward that
 he neuer Caried so hevy a burden in all his lyfe) And asson as
 he was in his chamber he went incontynent to his bedd very
 sykke/ this was vppon Satorday at nyght/ and there he contynued
 30 sykker & sykker/ vppon Monday in the mornyng as I stode by
 his beddes side/ abought viijth of the Clocke/ the wyndowes
 beyng cloose shett/ hauyng waxe lightes burnyng vppon the
 Cupbord/ I behyld hym As me semed drawyng fast to hys end/
 he perceyved my shadowe vppon the wall [f. 87] by his beddes

7 in consideracion] MS. inconsideracion 10 a interl.; w^t canc. before
 hymne 12 by canc. before by 13 other/ At] MS. other At
 14 where he lay all nyght canc. before very 16 the canc. before the
 22 ffather canc. after sayd/ 27 gathered lyfted lyfted so heuy a
 burden with lyfted lyfted interl. canc. before Caried 29 Satorday]
 MS. Storday 32 be canc. before beyng

side/ Asked who was there/ Sir I ame here/ q^d I/ howe do you/
q^d he/ to me/ very well sir if I myght se yo^r grace well/ what is it
of the clocke/ q^d he/ to me/ for sothe sir/ q^d I it is past viijth of
the clocke/ in the mornyng/ viijth of the clocke/ q^d he/ that
cannot be rehersyng dyuers tyme/ viijth of the Clocke/ viijth of 5
the Clocke/ Nay/ nay/ q^d he/ at the last/ it cannot be viijth of the
cloke/ ffor by viijth of the Clocke ye shall loose yo^r m^r/ for my
tyme drawyth nere that I must depart owt of this world w^t that
m^r doctor Palmes a worshipfull gentilman beyng his chapleyn/
& gostly father standyng bye bad me secretly demaund of hym 10
if he wold be shreven/ And to be in a redynes towardes god what
so euer shold chaunce/ at whos desier I asked hym that question/
what haue you to do/ q^d he/ to aske me any suche question/ And
began to be very angry w^t me/ for my presumpcion vntill at the
last/ M^r Doctor toke my part And talked w^t hym in latten And 15
so pacyfied hym/ And after Dynner M^r kyngeston sent for me
in to hys chamber/ And at my beyng there/ Sayd to me/ So it is
that the kyng hathe sent me letters by this gentilman (M^r
Vyncient) oon of yo^r old companyons who hathe byn late in 20
troble in the tower of london for mony that my lord shold haue
at his last departyng frome hym/ w^{ch}e nowe cannot be found/
wherfore the kyng at this gentilmans request for the declaracion
of his trewthe/ hathe sent hym hether w^t his graces letters
dyrected vnto me/ commaundyng me by vertue therof to 25
examyn my lord in that behalfe/ And to haue yo^r councell herin
howe yt may be don that he may take it well & in good part/ this
is the cheafe cause of my sendyng for you/ wherfore I pray you
what is yo^r best Councell to vse in thys matter for the true
acquytall of this gentilman/ Sir q^d I/ as touchyng that matter/
my symple Advice shalbe this/ that ye yo^r owen person shall 30
resort vnto hym/ and visit hym/ And in commynycacion
breake the matter vnto hym/ And if he woll not tell the
treuthe/ ther be that can satysfie the kynges pleasure therin/ And
in any wyse speke no thyng of my ffellowe vyncient/ And I wold
not advyse you to tract the tyme w^t hym for he is very syke/ I 35

1 Axed *canc.* before Asked
10 to *canc.* before demaund
what 13 to do interl.
interl.

7 a single indecipherable letter *canc.* before by
12-13 question/ what] MS. question
26 he *canc.* before yt; this interl. 28 in
30 s. *canc.* before Advice

feare me he wyll not lyve past to morow in the mornyng
 [f. 87v] Then went m^r kyngeston vnto hym And asked first
 howe he did And so forthe procedyd in Commynycacion/ wherin
 m^r kyngeston demaundyd of hym the seyd mony/ sayeng that
 5 my lord of Northumberland hathe found a boke at Cawood that
 reportithe howe ye had but late xv^{cii} in redy mony And oon
 penny therof wyll not be found/ who hathe made the kyng privy
 by his letters therof/ wherfore the kyng hathe writtyng vnto me/
 to demaund it of you if ye do knowe where it is become/ ffor it
 10 ware pitie/ that it shold be embeselled frome you bothe/
 therfore I shall requyer you in the kynges name to tell me the
 treuthe herin to thentent that I may make Iust report vnto his
 mat^{ie}/ what answerc ye make ther in/ w^t that my lord pawsed a
 whyle And sayd/ Ah good lord howe myche dothe it greate me/
 15 that the kyng shold thynke/ in me suche disceyt wherin I shold
 disceyve hym of any oon penny that I haue/ Rather than I wold
 (m^r kyngeston) embesell or deceyve hym of a myght I wold it
 ware molt & put in my mouthe/ w^{ch}e wordes he spake twyse or
 thrice very vehemently/ I haue no thyng ne never had (god
 20 beyng my Iuge) that I estemed or had in it any suche delight or
 pleasure but that I toke it for the kynges goodes hauyng but the
 bare vse of the same duryng my lyfe/ And after my deathe/ to
 leave it to the kyng wherin he hathe but prevented myn entent
 and purpose/ And for this mony that ye demaund of me/ I
 25 assure you it is none of myn for I borrowed it of dyuers of my
 ffrendes to bury me & to bestowe among my seruauntes w^{ch}e
 hathe taken great paynnes abought me/ lyke trewe and faythfull
 men/ Notw^tstandyng if it be his pleasure to take thys mony
 frome me/ I must hold me therw^t content/ yet I wold most
 30 humbly beseche his mat^{ie} to se them satysfied of whome I
 borrowed the same/ for the discharge of my concience/ who be
 they/ q^d m^r kyngeston/ That shall I shewe you/ I borrowed CC^{li}
 therof of sir Iohn Alyn/ of london/ And CC^{li} of sir Richard
 Gressham/ And CC^{li} of the m^r of Savoye/ And CC^{li} of Doctor
 35 hykden dean of my College in Oxford/ And CC^{li} of the

5 Cawood *canc.* before Cawood7 found/ who] *MS.* found who10 pitye *canc.* before pitie

17 of interl.

18 it *canc.* beforemolt
and mouthe before mouthe; mouthe/ w^{ch}e] *MS.* mouthe w^{ch}e
canc. before bestowe26 bestowe
28 thys] y written over e

Treasorer of the Chirche of yorke/ And CCⁱⁱ of the Dean of
 yorke/ And CCⁱⁱ of parson Elis my chapleyn [f. 88] And an Cⁱⁱ
 of my Steward (whos name I haue ffor gotten) trustyng that the
 kyng wyll restore theme agayn ther mony for it is none of myn/
 Sir/ q^d m^r kyngeston/ there is no dought in the kyng (ye nede not 5
 to mytrust that) but whan the kyng shalbe aduertised therof
 (to whome I shall make report of yo^r request) that his grace woll
 do as shall become hym/ but sir I pray you where is this mony/
 M^r kyngeston/ q^d he/ I will not conceyall it frome the kyng/ I woll
 declare it to you or I dye/ by the grace of god/ take a littill 10
 pacience w^t me I pray you// well sir than I woll troble you no
 more at this tyme trustyng that ye wyll shewe me to morowe/
 yea that I wyll m^r kyngeston/ for the mony is save a noughe/ And
 in an honest mans kepyng/ who wyll not kepe oon Penny frome
 the kyng/ and than m^r kyngeston went to his Soper/ howbeit my 15
 lord wexid very syke most lyklyest to dye that nyght/ And often
 Swowned/ And as me thought drewe toward fast hys end vntill
 it was iiiij^{or} of the Clocke in the mornyng/ At w^ethe tyme I Asked
 hym howe he dyd/ well/ q^d he/ if I had any meate I pray you
 geve me some/ Sir ther is none redy/ I wys ye be the more to 20
 blame/ ffor you shold haue allwayes some meate for me in a
 redynes to eate whan my stomake seruyth me/ Therfore I pray
 you gett me some/ for I entend thys day (god willyng) to make
 me strong to thentent I may occupie my self in Confession and
 make me redy to god/ Then sir q^d I/ I wyll call vppe the Cookes 25
 to provyd some meate for you/ And woll also if it be yo^r
 pleasure call for m^r Palmes that ye may Comen w^t hym vntill
 yo^r meate be redy/ w^t a good wyll/ q^d he/ And ther w^t I went
 first and called vppe the Cooke/ commaundyng hym to
 prepare some meate for my lord And than I went to m^r Palmes 30
 and told hym what case my lord was in/ wyllyng hym to rise
 and to resort to hym w^t spedē/ And than I went to m^r kyngeston
 and gave hym warnyng that as I thought he wold not lyve/
 Aduertysing hym that if he had any thyng to say to hym that

5 m^r kyngeston/] MS. m^r kyngeston; nede interl. 7 but canc. before
 that 8-9 mony/M^r] MS. mony M^r 13 kyngeston/] / written
 over) 15 kyng/ and] MS. kyng and 20 ye canc. before I
 22 d canc. before redynes 27 k canc. before Palmes 30 than
 canc. before than 33 he interl.; lyfe canc. before lyve

he shold make haste for he was in great daynger/ In good fayth/ q^d m^r kyngeston/ ye be to blame for ye make hyme beleve that he is sykkyr and in more daynger [f. 88v] then he is/ Well sir q^d I/ ye shall not say an other day but that I gave you
 5 warnyng as I am bound to do/ in discharge of my dewtie/ Therfore I pray you what so euer shall chaunce lett no necligence/ be ascribed to me herin/ for I assure you his lyfe is very short/ do therfore nowe as ye thynke best// Yet neuerthelesse he arose & made hyme redy and came to hyme after he had eaten
 10 of a Colas made of a chykken a sponefull or too/ At the last q^d he/ wherof was this Colas made/ forsothe sir/ q^d I/ of a Chikkyn/ wye/ q^d he/ it is fastyng day and saynt Androwes Eve/ what thoughe sir q^d Doctor Palmes/ ye be excused by reason of yo^r syknes/ yea/ q^d he/ what thoughe I wyll eate no more/ than was
 15 he in confession the space of an hower// And whan he had endyd his confession m^r kyngeston bade hyme god morowe (for it was abought vjj^{en} of the clocke in the mornyng) And Asked hyme howe he did/ Sir/ q^d he/ I tary but the wyll & pleasure of god/ to render vnto hyme my symple sowlle in to hys dyvyn
 20 handes/ Not yet so sir/ q^d m^r kyngeston/ w^t the grace of god ye shall lyve & do very well if ye wyll be of good cheare/ Mr kyngeston my desease is suche that I cannot lyve/ I haue had some experyence in my desease/ And thus it is/ I haue a ffluxe w^t a contynuall ffeavour/ the nature wherof is this/ that if there
 25 be no alteracion w^t me of the same w^t in viijth dayes than must owther ensue excorriacion of the Intraylles/ or ffrancye/ or elles present deathe/ And the best therof is deathe/ And as I suppose this is the viijth day And if ye se in me no alteracion/ than is there no remedye (althoughe I may lyve a day or twayn)/ but deathe
 30 w^{che} is the best remedy of the three// Nay sir in good fayth q^d m^r kyngeston/ ye be in suche dolor & pensyvenes doughtyng that thyng that in deade ye nede not to feare/ w^{che} makyth you myche wors than ye shold be/// well, well, Mr kyngeston/ q^d he/ I se the matter ayenst me howe it is framed/ But if I had
 35 serued god as dyligently as I haue don the kyng he wold not

3 bele canc. before beleve; in interl.

4 gave canc. before gave

14 syknes/ yea] MS. syknes yea

16 bad canc. before bade

19 sowlle]

le written over &

20 kyngeston canc. before kyngeston

26 ex canc.

after owther

30-31 q^d m^r kyngeston/ interl.; ye canc. before in

haue gevyn me ouer in my gray heares/ howbeit thys is the Iust
 reward that I must Receyve for my worldly dyligence & paynnes
 that I haue had to do hym seruyce/ oonly to satysfie his vayn
 pleasures/ not regardyng my godly dewtye [f. 89] wherfore I pray
 you w^t all my hart to haue me most humbly commendyd vnto 5
 his Royall mat^e besechyngh hym in my behalf to call to hys most
 gracious remembraunce All matters procedyng bytwen hym
 & me/ frome the begynnyng of the world vnto thys day/ and the
 progresse of the same/ And most cheafely in the waytie matter/
 yet dependyng/ (meanyng the matter newly begon bytwen hym 10
 & good quen katheryn) than shall his concyence declare
 whether I haue offendyd hym or no/ he is suer a pryncipe of a
 Royall Corage/ And hathe a pryncely hart/ And rather than he
 wyll owther mysse or want any parte of hys wyll or apetite/ he
 wyll put the losse of oon half of hys realme in daynger/ ffor I 15
 assure you/ I haue often kneled byfore hym in his privye
 chamber on my knes the space of an hower or too/ to perswade
 hym frome hys wyll & apetide/ but I cowld never bryng to
 passe to diswade hym therfroo/ Therfore m^r kyngeston/ if it
 chaunce hereafter you to be oon of hys privye councell (as for 20
 yo^r wysdom & other qualites ye be mete so to be) I warne you
 to be well advySED & assured what matter ye put in his hed/ ffor
 ye shall never pull it owt agayn/ And sey furthermore that I
 requyer his grace (in goddes name) that he haue a vigilant eye/
 to depresse this newe peruers sekte of the lutarnaunce that it do 25
 not encrease w^tin his domynyons thoroughe hys negligence/ in
 suche a sort as that he shalbe fayn at lengthe to put harnoys
 vpon hys bake to subdewe them As the kyng of Beame did/
 who had good game to se his rewde Commyns (than enfefted
 w^t wycklyfes heresies) to spoyell and murder the spertyuall men 30
 & Religious persons of hys Realme/ the w^che fled to the kyng &
 his nobles for socours ayenst ther frantyke rage/ of whome they
 could gett no helpe of defence/ or refuge/ but laughed theme to

2 receyve canc. before Receyve; worldly (*M.S.* wordly) *interl.* 3 do *interl.*
 4 dewte to canc. before godly 5 me *interl.* 11 the *canc.* before
 good 13 a single indecipherable letter *canc.* between the o and r of
 Corage 16 privy *canc.* before privye 19 diswade *canc.* before
 diswade 22 ye pu *canc.* before in 25 to *interl.*; lutarnaunce]
 first n written over y 29 rewde *interl.* 32 ther *canc.* before
 ther; ther *interl.*

scorne hauyng good game at ther spoyle & consumpcion not
 regardyng ther dewties nor ther owen defence/ And whan thes
 erronyous heretykes had subdued all the clargy and spertyuall
 persons takyng the spoyell of ther riches/ bothe of [f. 89v]
 5 chirches/ monastorys/ And all other spertyuall thynges havyng
 no more to spoyle caught suche a Corage of ther former libertie/
 that/ than they disdayned ther prynce and souerayn lord/ w^t all
 other noble personages And the hed gouerners of the Contrie/
 And began to fall in hand w^t the temporall lordes to slee &
 10 spoyle theme w^tout pitie or mercye most cruelly/ In so myche
 that the kyng and other hys nobles ware constrainyd to put
 harnoyes vpon ther bakkes to resist the ongodly powers of thes
 traterous heretykes And to defend ther lyves & liberties/ who
 pitched a feld Royall ayenst theme/ in w^{ch}e fyld thes traytors so
 15 stowtly encounterd/ that the parte of theme ware so cruell &
 vehement/ that in fyne they ware victors/ and slewe the kyng/
 the lordes & all the gentilmen of the Realme/ leavyng not oon
 person that bare the name or port of a gentilman a lyve/ or of
 any person that had any Rewle or auctorytie in the Comen wele/
 20 by means of w^{ch}e slaughter they haue lyved euer sync in great
 mysery & pouertie/ w^t out an hed or gouernor but lyved all in
 Comen lyke wyld bestes/ abhorred of all Cristyan nacions/ lett
 this be to hym an evydent example to avoyd the lyke daynger
 I pray you good m^r kyngeston/ Ther is no trust in rowttes
 25 or onlawfull Assembles of the comen pepolle ffor whan the
 ryotouse multytud be assembled there is among theme no mercy
 or consideracion of ther bounden dewtie/ As in the history of
 kyng Rycherd the second/ oon of hys noble progenytors w^{ch}e in
 that same tyme of wykcliffes sedicious oppynyonis/ dyd not the
 30 Comens/ I pray you/ rise ayenst the kyng & nobles of the
 Realme of Englond/ wheroft some they apprehendyd whome they
 w^tout mercye or Iustice put to deathe/ And did they not fall to
 spoylyng & Robbery to thentent they myght bryng all thyng in
 comen/ And at the last w^tout dissercion or reuerence/ spared

9 lordes *canc. before temporall* 14 stoutly *canc. before Royall; Royall*
interl.; w^{ch}e fyld] MS. w^{ch}e / fyld; so interl 19 Comen] *MS. Coen*
 21 out *interl.* 22 bestes *canc. before wyld* 25 r *canc. after whan*
 the 26 multytud *interl.; hedes canc. before be* 27 consideracion]
MS. consideracion 28 Rycherd] R written over I 29 r *canc.*
after the

not in ther rage to take the kynges most Royall person owt of the tower of london/ and Caried hym abought the Citie most presumptiously/ causyng hym (for the preseruacion of hys lyfe) to be agreable to ther lewd proclamacions/// Dyd not also that trayterouse herityke/ sir Iohn OldCastell pytche a feld ayenst 5 kyng herry the .vth ayenst whome the kyng was constrainyd to encontre in his Royall [f. 90] person/ to whome god gave the victory/// Alas m^r kyngeston/ if thes be not playn presedentes and suffycyent perswasions to admonysshe a prynce to be circumspect ayenst the semblable myschefe/ and if he be neclŷ- 10 gent/ than wyll god stryke and take frome hym his power/ and dymynysshe his regally/ takyng frome hym his prudent councellours and valyaunt capteyns/ and leave vs in our owen handes w^t out hys helpe & ayed/ And than wyll ensewe myschefe vpon myschefe/ Inconvenyence vpon Inconvenyence/ 15 barynes & skarcyte of all thynges/ for lake of good order in the comen welthe to the vtter distraccion & desolacion of this noble Realme/ ffrome w^{ch}e mysches god for hys tender mercy defend vs/ Mayster kyngeston farewell I canno more but whyshe all thying to haue good successe/ my tyme drawyth on fast I may 20 not tary w^t you/ And forgett not (I pray you) what I haue seyd & charged you w^tall ffor whan I ame deade/ ye shall parauenture remember my wordes myche better// And evyn w^t thes wordes he began to drawe his speche at lengthe/ And his tong to fayle/ his eyes beyng sett in his hed whos sight faylled hymc/ than we 25 began to put hym in remembraunce of Cristes passion and sent for the Abbot of the place to annele hym/ who came w^t all spedē/ and mynestred vnto hym all the seruyce to the same belonging/ And caused also the gard to stand by bothe to here hym talke byfore his deathe & also to be wytnes of the same/ 30 And incontynent the Clocke strake viijth/ at w^{ch}e tyme he gave vppe the gost & thus departed he this present lyfe/ And callyng to our remembraunce his wordes the day byfore howe he sayd

1 to *canc.* before in; most *interl.*2 *presumptio canc.* before most4 the *canc.* before that; that *interl.*

6 constrainyd] MS. constrainyd

7 hymc *canc.* before in12 as *canc.* before takyng 14-15 myschefevpon/ *canc.* before myschefe vpon24 leg *canc.* before lengthe25 be *canc.* before eyes30 his dethe *canc.* before the; the same*interl.*31 stake *canc.* before strake; strake *interl.* 32 he *interl.*33 before *canc.* before byfore

that at viijth of the Cloke we shold lose our mayster/ oon of vs
 lokyng vpon an other/ supposyng that he proficed of hys
 departure/ **Here is thend** and ffall of pryme and Arrogauncye
 of suche men exalted by ffortune to honour & highe dognytes/
 5 ffor I assure you in hys tyme of auctoryte & glory/ he was the
 haultest man in all his procedynges that than lyved/ hauyng
 more respect to the worldly honor of hys person/ than he had to
 his spertyuall profession/ wherin shold be all meknes, hymylitie,
 & chariti/ the processe wherof I leave to theme that be learned
 10 & seen in the dyvyn lawes/// [f. 90v]

After that he was departyd/ m^r kyngeston sent an empost to the
 kyng to Aduertise hym of the deathe of the late Cardynall of
 yorke/ by oon of the Gard that bothe sawe & hard hyme talkē
 & die/ And than M^r kyngeston callyng me/ vnto hymē & to
 15 thabbott went to consultacion for the order of hys buriall/ After
 dyuers commynycacions it was thought good that he shuld be
 buried the next day followyng for m^r kyngeston wold not tarie
 the retourne/ of thempost/ And it was ferther thought good that
 the mayor of leycester and hys bretherne shold be sent for to se
 20 hymē personally deade/ in Avoydyng of ffalce Rumors that
 myght hape to sey that he was not deade/ but still lyvyng/ than
 was the mayor and hys bretherne sent for And in the mean
 tyme/ the body was taken owt of the bed where he lay deade/
 who had vpon hymē next his body a shirt of heare besydes his
 25 other shirt w^{ch}e was of very fynne lynnyn holond clothe/ this
 shirt of heare was onknowen to all hys seruauntes beyng con-
 tynually attending vpon hymē in his bedd chamber except to
 his chapleyn w^{ch}e was his gostly father/ wherin he was buried
 and layed in a Coffen of bordes/ hauyng vpon his dead Corps
 30 all suche vestures & ornamente as he was professed in whan he
 was consecrated bysshope & Archbysshope/ As myter crosseer
 ryng & palle w^t all other thynges appurtenaunt to his profession/
 And lyeng thus all day in his Coffen opyn and bare faced that all
 men myght se hymē lye there deade/ w^tout ffaynyng/ than whan
 2 proficed *canc.* before proficed; proficed *interl.* 3 yet *canc.* after
 departure/ 4 suche *interl.* 7 worldy] MS. wordly; honor
interl. 8 shold *interl.* 13 hymē *interl.* 16 bury
canc. before be 18 it was *interl.* 21 lyvyng/ than] MS. lyvyng
 than 24 here *canc. before heare* 27 bedd *interl.* 33 that
 the *canc. before* that

the mayor, hys bretherne & all other had sen hym lyeng thus vntill iiiij^{or} or .v. of the cloke/ at nyght he was caried so down in to the chyrche/ w^t great solempnyte/ by the Abbott & Couent w^t many torches lyght syngynge suche seruyce as is dewe for suche ffuneralles/ And beyng in the churche the Corps was sett in our 5 lady chappell w^t many dyuers tapers of waxe burnyng abought the hearsse/ And dyuers poore men sytting abought the same holdyng of Torchies lyght in ther handes who watched abought the dead body all nyght wyllest the Chanons sang dirige/ and other devout Orisons/ And abought iiiij^{or} of the cloke in the 10 mornynge they sang masse and that don and the body entired M^r kyngeston w^t vs beyng his seruauntes ware present at hys seyd ffuneralles and offered at hys masse/ And be that tyme that all thynges was fynysshed and all Ceremonyes that to suche a person was decent & conuenyent it was abought vj of the cloke/ 15 in the mornynge/ Then prepared we to [f. 91] horsebake/ beyng seynt Androwes day thappostell And so toke our Iourney towardes the Court beyng at hampton Court where the kyng than lay And after we came thether w^{ch}e was vpon seynt Nicholas Eve we gave attendaunce vpon the Counsell for our 20 depeche/ vpon the morowe I was sent for by the kyng to come to hys grace/ And beyng in m^r kyngestons chamber in the Court had knowlege therof And repayryng to the kyng I found hym shotyng at the Rownds in the parke on the baksyde of the garden/ And perceyvyng hym occupied in shotyng/ thought it 25 not my dewtie/ to troble hym/ but leaned to a tree entendyng to stand there and to attend hys gracious pleasure/ beyng in a great study/ At the last the kyng came sodynly behynd me where I stode/ And clapp特 his hand vpon my sholder/ And whan I perceyved hym I fyll vpon my knee/ to whome he 30 sayd/ callyng mee by my name/ I woll/ q^d he/ make an end of my game/ And than woll I talke w^t you/ And so departed to his marke whereat the game was endyd/ than the kyng delyuerd hys bowe to the yoman of hys bowes And went his way in ward to the place/ whome I folowed/ howbeit he called for sir Iohn 35

7 hersse canc. before hearsse
canc. after don
canc. before morowe
than] MS. endyd than

9 chana.s canc. before Chanons
12 and canc. before w^t
25 shotyng canc. before shotyng

11 m^r
19 was interl.
21 mor
33 endyd/

Gagge w^t whome he talked vntill he came at the garden posterne
 gate/ And there entred the gate beyng shett after hym w^{che}
 caused me to goo my wayes/ And beyng goon but a lyttyll
 distance/ the gate was opened agayn/ And there sir harry Norres
 5 called me agayn commaundyng me to come in to the kyng who
 stode behynd the doore in a nyght gown of Russett velvett
 furred w^t Sabelles/ byfore whome I kneled down beyng w^t hym
 there all alon the space of an hower & more dewryng w^{che} tyme
 he examyned me of dyuers waytty matters concernyng my
 10 lord/ whysshyngh that leuer than xx M^l ⁱⁱ he had lyved/ than he
 asked me for the xv^{CII} (w^{che} m^r kyngeston moved to my lord
 byfore his deathe) Sir sayd I I thynke that I can tell yo^r grace
 partely where it is/ yea can q^d the kyng than I pray you tell me
 and you shall do vs myche pleasure/ nor it shall not be on-
 15 rewardyd/ Sir sayd I if it please yo^r highnes/ After the departure
 of Davyd Vyncent frome my lord at Scrobye who had than the
 custody therof/ leavyng the same w^t my lord in dyuers bagges
 sealed w^t my lordes seale/ delyuerd the same mony in the same
 bagges sealed vnto a certyn prest (whome I named to the kyng)
 20 savely to kepe to his vse/ ys thys trewe/ q^d the kyng/ yea sir q^d
 I w^tout all dought/ [f. 91v] the prest shall not be able to denye it
 in my presence/ ffor I was at the delyuere therof/ well than/ q^d
 the kyng/ lett me alone kepe thys gere secretty bytwen yo^r self
 and me/ And lett no man be privye therof/ ffor if I heare any
 25 more of it/ than I knowe by whome it is come to knowlege/ ij^{re}
 may/ q^d he/ kepe councell if ij be away/ And if I thought that
 my cappe knewe my councell/ I wold cast it in to the fier and
 burne it/ And for yo^r trewthe & honestie/ ye shall be oon of our
 seruautes/ and in that same rome w^t vs that ye ware w^t yo^r old
 30 m^r/ therfore goo to sir Iohn Gage/ our vice chamberlayn/ to
 whome I haue spoken alredy to geve you yo^r othe & to admytt
 you our seruaunt in the same Rome/ And than goo to my lord
 of Norffolk and he shall pay you/ all yo^r hole yeres wages w^{che} is
 x^{li}/ is it not so q^d the kyng/ yes forsothe/ sir q^d I/ And I ame

3 caused] c written over t 4 gate interl. 7 Sabelles canc.
 before Sabelles and s before byfore; I canc. after whome 8 wt canc.
 before the 9 of canc. before of 10 superscript ll canc. after xx
 14 vs canc. before vs; vs interl. 15 if canc. before sayd 20 Ys canc.
 after vse/ 26 thought interl.; knewe canc. before that 32 you interl.
 34 so interl.

behynd therof for ijre quart^rs of a yere/ that is trewe/ q^d the kyng/ for so we be enformed therfore ye shall haue yo^r hole yeres wages w^t oure reward delyuerd you by the Duke of Norfolk/ the kyng also promysed me ferthermore to be my syngular good & gracious lord whan so euer occasion shold serue/ And thus I 5 departed frome hymē And as I went I mett w^t m^r kyngeston commyng frome the councell who commaundyd me in ther names/ to goo strayt vnto theme for whome they haue sent for by hymē/ And in any wyse/ q^d he/ for goddes sake/ take good hede what ye say/ ffor ye shall be examyned/ of suchē certyn 10 wordes as my lord yo^r late m^r hade at hys departure/ And if you tell theme the treuthe/ q^d he/ what he sayd you shold vndo yo^r self for in any wyse they wold not here of hyt/ therfore be circumspect what answere ye make/ to ther demaund/ why sir/ q^d I/ howe have ye don/ therin yo^r self/ Mary q^d he I haue 15 vtterly denied that euer I hard any suchē wordes/ and he that opened the matter first/ is fled for feare w^{ch}e was the yoman of the gard that rode empost to the kyng frome leycester/ therfore goo yo^r wayes/ god send you good spedē/ And whan ye haue don come to me in to the Chamber of presence where I shall tary 20 yo^r commyng to se howe you spedē/ And to knowe howe ye haue don w^t the kyng/ Thus I departed and went dyrectly to the councell chamber doore/ and as sone as I was come I was called in among them/ And beyng there/ My lord of Norffolk spake to me first and bad me welcome to the Court/ And sayd 25 my [f. 92] lordes thys gentilman hathe bothe Iustly And painfully serued the Cardynall hys m^r lyke an honest & diligent seruaunt/ therfore I drought not but of suchē questiōns as ye shall demaund of hymē/ he wyll make Iust report/ I dare vndertake the same for hymē/ howe say ye/ it is reported that yo^r m^r spake 30 certyn wordes evyn byfore his departure owt of thys lyfe/ the truthe wherof I drought not ye knowe/ And as ye knowe I pray you report & feare not for no man/ ye shall not nede to swere

1 / yere canc. after a 8-9 for interl. before by 11 I canc. before
you 11-12 you tell interl. 12 told canc. before theme; I canc.
before you; you interl.; my canc. before yo^r; yo^r interl. 13 wold not
interl. 15 haue ye canc. before have 18 leycester/ therfore
MS. leycester therfore 19 whan interl. 26 my lordes] MS.
my/ lordes; ar canc. before And 30 hymē/ howe] MS. hymē howe;
reported canc. before speake 33 to interl.

- hyme/ therfore goo to howe saye you/ is it trewe that is reported
ffor sothe sir I was so diligent attenyng more to the preseruacion
of his lyfe/ than I was to note & marke euery word that he spake/
And sir in deade he spake many Idell wordes as men in suche
5 extremes/ the w^{ch}e I cannot nowe remember/ yf it please yo^r
lordshypes to call byfore you m^r kyngeston he wyll not fayle to
shewe you the truthe/ Mary so haue we don alredy/ q^d they/
who hathe byn here presently byfore vs/ And hathe denied
vtterly that euer he hard any suche wordes spoken by yo^r m^r/ at
10 the tyme of hys deathe or at any tyme byfore/ fforsythe my
lordes/ q^d I// than I can say no more for if he hard them not I
cowld not heare theme/ for he hard as myche as I/ and I as
myche as he/ therfore my lordes it ware myche foly for me to
declare any thyng of ontrouthe w^{ch}e I ame not able to Iustefie/
15 loo/ q^d my lord of Norffolk I told you as myche byfore/ therfore
goo yo^r wayes/ q^d he/ to me/ you are dismyst/ And come agayn
to my chamber anon for I must nedes talke w^t you/ I most humbly
thanked theme & so departed/ And went in to the Chamber of
presence/ to mete w^t m^r kyngeston/ whome I found standyng in
20 Comynycacion w^t an auncyent gentillman vssher of the kynges
privy chamber called m^r Ratclyfe/ And at my Commyngh Mr
kyngeston demaundyd of me if I had byn w^t the Councell and
what awnser I made theme/ I sayd agayn that I had satisfied
them sufficyently w^t my awnser/ And told hym the maner of
25 it And than he asked me howe I sped w^t the kyng/ I told hym
partely of our commynycacion/ And of hys graces benyvolence/
and pryncely lyberalitie/ and howe he commaundyd me to goo
to my lord of Norffolk/ As we ware spekyng of [f. 92v] hym/ he
came frome the Councell in to the chamber of presence/ asson
30 as he aspied me he came in to the wyndowe where I stode/ w^t
m^r kyngeston and m^r Ratclyfe to whome I declared the kynges
pleasure/ thes ij gentilmen desired hym to be my good lord/
Nay q^d he/ I woll be better vnto hym than ye wene for if I could
haue spoken w^t hym byfore he came to the kyng I wold haue

had hym to my seruyce/ (the kyng excepted) he shold haue
don no man seruyce in all Englond but oonly me/ And loke what
I may do for you/ I woll do it w^t a right good wyll/ Sir than/ q^d
I/ woll it please yor grace to move the kynges mat^e in my behalfe
to geve me oon of the Cartes & horsys that brought vppe my 5
stiffe w^t my lordes w^che is nowe in the tower to carie it in to my
Contrie/ yea marie wyll I/ q^d he/ and retorne agayn to the kyng
for whome I taried still w^t m^r kyngeston/ And m^r Ratclyfe/ who
sayd that he wold go in and helpe my lord in my sewte/ w^t the
kyng/ And incontynent my lord came forthe and shewed me 10
howe the kyng was my good & gracious lord// And hathe gevyn
me vj of the best horsse that I can chose amongst all my lordes
Cart horsse w^t a Cart to Carye my stiffe/ And .v. markes for
my Costes homwardes/ And hathe commaundyd me/ q^d he/ to
delyuer you Xⁱⁱ for yo^r wages beyng behynd on payed And xxⁱⁱ 15
for a reward/ who commaundyd to call for m^r Secretorye to make
a warraunt for all thes thynges/ than was it told hym/ that m^r
Secretory was gon to hanworthe for that nyght/ than com-
maundyd he oon of the messengers of the chamber to ride vnto
hyme in all hast for thes warrautes and wylled me to mete w^t 20
hyme the next day at london And there to receyve bothe my
mony my stiffe & horsse/ that the kyng gave me/ And so I
dyd/ of whome I receyved all thynges accordyng/ And than I
retorne in to my Contrie And thus endyd the lyfe of my late
lord & m^r/ the Riche & tryhumphant legat and Cardynall of 25
Englond/ on whos sowle Iesu haue mercy Amen/

ffinis Q^d. G. C.

[f. 93] Who lyste to Rede And consider w^t an Indyfferent
eye this history may behold the wonderouse mutabilitie/ of
vayn honours/ the bryttell Assuraunce of haboundaunce/ the 30
oncertytie of dignytes the flatteryng of fayned frendes/ And the
tykkyll trust to worldly prynces/ wherof thys lord Cardynall

3 wyll/ Sir M.S. wyll Sir 7 the canc. before the 9 my
canc. after helpe 11 . . . lord canc. before & 13 Ad canc. before
And; And interl. 14 my interl. and canc. before my; my interl.; ye my
with my interl. canc. after my 17 Secretory canc. before warraunt;
then canc. before hym 20 ha canc. before all; all canc. before wylled
22 & canc. after mony; my interl. 24 late interl. 25 legat interl.;
& legate canc. before of

hathe felt bothe of the swette & the sower in eche degrees/ As fletyng frome honors/ losyng of Riches/ deposed frome Dignytes/ fforsaken of ffrendes// And the inconstantnes of prynces fauour/ Of all w^che thynges he hathe had in this world the full felycyte as
 5 long as that ffortune smyled vppon hym/ but whan she began to frown howe sone was he depryved of all thes dremyng Ioyes And vayn pleasures/ the w^che in XX^t yeres w^t great travell, study, and paynnes opteyned/ ware in oon yere and lesse (w^t hevynes, care, & sorowe) lost and consumed/ O madnes/ O
 10 folyshe desier/ O fond hope/ O gredy desier of vayn honors, dignyties, and Ryches/ O what inconstant trust And assuraunce is in Rollyng ffortune/ wherfore the prophett sayd full well/ Tezaurisat et ignorat cui congregabit ea/ who is certyn to whome he shall leave his treasure & riches that he hathe gathered
 15 together in this world it may chaunce hym to leave it vnto suche as he hathe purposed/ But The wyse man saythe/ that an other person who parauenture he hated in his lyfe shall spend it owt & consume it/

13 to whome *interl.* 14 that *canc. before* he shall 15 it may chaunce hym to leave it *interl.* 16 by his *canc. after* purposed; testament or other wyse *canc. before* / But; But *interl.* 17 t *canc. before* his

BIBLIOGRAPHY TO THE NOTES

The following bibliography includes all the titles which are frequently referred to in the notes. Full references to works cited only once are given as they occur.

- Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ed. John Venn and J. A. Venn, Part I, 'Earliest Times to 1751', 4 vols., Cambridge, 1924-7.
- Athenae Cantabrigienses*, ed. C. H. Cooper and Thompson Cooper, 2 vols., 1, 1500-85, Cambridge, 1858.
- Bacon, Francis, *History of the Reign of King Henry VII*, ed. J. Rawson Lumby, Cambridge, 1892.
- Busch, Wilhelm, *England Under the Tudors*, tr. from the German by Alice M. Todd, London, 1895.
- Cameron, T. W., 'The Early Life of Thomas Wolsey', *English Historical Review*, iii (1888), 458-77.
- The Chronicle of Calais*, ed. J. G. Nichols, Camden Society, xxxv, 1846.
- Chronicle of King Henry VIII*, tr. from the Spanish by M. A. Sharp Hume, London, 1889.
- Collier, J. Payne, *The History of English Dramatic Poetry*, 3 vols., London, 1831.
- Doran, John, *The History of Court Fools*, London, 1858.
- Fiddes, Richard, *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, London, 1724. The title 'Collections' refers to the second part of Fiddes's work in which he printed numerous materials relating to Wolsey.
- Forrest, William, *The History of Grisild the Second*, ed. W. D. Macray, Roxburghe Club, London, 1875. See also Appendix A.
- Friedmann, Paul, *Anne Boleyn*, 2 vols., London, 1884.
- Fuller, Thomas, *The Church History of Britain*, 6 vols., ed. J. S. Brewer, Oxford, 1845.
- Grove, Joseph, *The History of the Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey*, 2nd ed., 4 vols., London, 1748.
- Hall, Edward, *The Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre & Yorke*, London, 1542, 1548, 1550. Reprinted, London, 1809. Cited as 'Hall's Chronicle'.
- Harpsfield, Nicholas, *The life and death of Sr Thomas Moore*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock and R. W. Chambers, London, E.E.T.S., o.s. 186, 1932.
- Herford, C. E., *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1886.
- Holmes, John (ed.), *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, London, 1852.
- Hughes, Philip, *The Reformation in England*, 3 vols., London, 1950-4.

- Hunter, Joseph, *Who Wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?* London, 1814.
 Reprinted in Singer (1825 ed.), II, xiii–lxxii.
- Jacqueton, G., 'La Politique extérieure de Louise de Savoie,' *Bibliothèque de L'École des Hautes Études*, LXXXVIII (1892).
- Lavisse, Ernst, *Histoire de France*, v, Parts 1 and 2, Paris, 1903–4.
- Le Neve, John, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, revised and continued by T. Duffus Hardy, 3 vols., London, 1854.
- Leonard, Frederic, *Recueil des Traitez*, 6 vols., Paris, 1693.
- Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R. Brodie. Revised ed. by Brodie, 1920. Preface to Vol. iv of the original ed. by Brewer. Referred to as 'LP'.
- Mackie, J. D., *The Earlier Tudors 1485–1558* (Oxford History of England), Oxford, 1952.
- Mattingly, Garrett, *Catherine of Aragon*, Boston, 1941.
- Merriman, R. B., *The Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1902.
- Muller, J. A., *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction*, New York, 1926.
- Nichols, John, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, 4 vols. in 8, 1795–1815.
- [Northumberland Household Book]—*The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland*, ed. Thomas Percy, London, 1827.
- Pocock, Nicholas, *Records of the Reformation*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1870.
- Pollard, A. F., *Wolsey*, London, 1929.
- The Privy Purse Expences of King Henry the Eighth*, ed. N. H. Nicolas, London, 1827.
- Registrum Thome Wolsey* [Wolsey's Winchester Register], ed. F. T. Madge and H. Chitty, The Canterbury and York Society, xxxii, Oxford, 1926.
- Roper, William, *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, knighte*, ed. E. V. Hitchcock, E.E.T.S., o.s. 197, London, 1935, reprinted 1958.
- Roy, William and Barlowe, Jerome, *Rede me and be nott wrothe*, Strasburg, 1528. Reprinted by Arber, London, 1871.
- Seebohm, Frederic, *The Oxford Reformers*, Everyman edition, London, 1914.
- Sergeant, Philip W., *The Life of Anne Boleyn*, 2nd ed., New York, 1924.
- Singer, S. W., *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, 1st ed., Chiswick, 2 vols. [with the poems], 1825; 2nd ed., 1 vol., London, 1827.
- Skelton, John, *Works*, ed. A. Dyce, 3 vols., Boston, 1866.
- [Spanish Calendar]—*Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers preserved in the Archives at Simancas, etc.*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth, London, 1862, et seq.

- [State Papers]—*State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII*, 11 vols., London, 1830–52.
- Stowe, John, *The Survey of London*, Everyman edition, London, 1912.
- Van Ortroy, F., ‘Vie du Bienheureux Martyr Jean Fisher’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, x (1891), 121–365 and xii (1893), 97–287.
- [Venetian Calendar]—*Calendar of State Papers . . . in the Archives and Collections of Venice*, ed. Rawdon Brown, London, 1864 et seq.
- Wordsworth, Christopher [ed.], *Ecclesiastical Biography*, 4th ed., 4 vols., London, 1853. The *Life of Wolsey* occupies pp. 459–672 in vol. 1.

HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES

3/16–17 **not geveng**: not give.

4/13 **than to quenche**: than have quenched.

4/18 **or of affeccion**: or out of affection (for Wolsey). Cavendish emphasizes the lack of prejudice that is to characterize his narrative.

4/29 **an honest . . . Ipsewiche**: Wolsey's early years are summarized by Pollard (pp. 11–13), who suggests 'the latter part of 1472 or early in 1473' as the most probable date for his birth. Cavendish's own account of Wolsey's Maundy (below, 133/11ff) in 1530, when he washed the feet of 'fifty-nine poor men', is best interpreted, as Pollard shows, so as to give the above dates. The will of Wolsey's father (Singer, pp. 502–3) was proved on 15 October 1496. As Skelton and other detractors of the cardinal liked to point out, he was in fact a butcher 'and apparently of some truculence' (Mackie, p. 287, n. 1). On the other hand, Cavendish's 'honest poore man' is supported by the fact that he was also a churchwarden.

5/1–2 **bachelor . . . age**: If Wolsey proceeded B.A. in 1487–8, it becomes difficult to account for the next few years of his life. He was ordained on 10 March 1498 and, at some time prior to that date, had been elected fellow and had received his M.A. In 1499 he was Senior Bursar at Magdalen and also Master of Magdalen College School. The university and college records, as Pollard (p. 12, n. 2) points out, do not give us any insight into his activities during the early nineties.

5/4 **learnyng, was made**: A typical instance of Cavendish's habit of omitting subject pronouns when the context is clear enough to avoid confusion. Here, supply 'he' (Wolsey) before 'was'.

5/6 **the lord Marques Dorsett**: Thomas Grey, first Marquis (1451–1501). By his second wife Cicely, whom he had married before 23 April 1475, he had seven sons and eight daughters. His two eldest sons died young and the third, Thomas (1477–1530) succeeded to the title at his father's death (below, 6/22) on 20 September 1501. If the second Marquis was one of Wolsey's pupils 'At scole', this would presumably mean that Wolsey was instructing there as early as 1490.

5/9–10 **Ayenst . . . season**: This was apparently Christmas, 1499. Wolsey was instituted at Limington, near Ilchester in Somerset (the diocese of Bath and Wells) on 10 October 1500 (Fiddes, p. 5).

5/18 **Ordynarie**: 'One who has, of his own right and not by special deputation, immediate jurisdiction in ecclesiastical cases, as the archbishop in a province, or the bishop or bishop's deputy in a diocese' (*O.E.D.*).

5/22–3 **sir Amys Pawlett**: Sir Amias Paulet or Poulet (d. 1538). Tradition has it that Wolsey was disciplined 'for disorderly conduct at a fair where he had drunk to excess' (Singer, p. 68), but the story seems to go back no further than to Sir John Harington. Paulet became Treasurer of the Middle Temple in 1521. We do not know precisely when Wolsey restricted him to the Temple, but he was free again in 1524. Cavendish's '*v. or vj yeres*' would place the beginning of his confinement in 1518–19.

5/25–6 **to sett . . . feete**: i.e. to put him in the stocks. The *O.E.D.* does not record the phrase 'to set by the feet'.

6/32 **sir John Nanfant**: As Singer (p. 70, n. 6) noted, Cavendish seems to have confused Sir Richard Nanfan with his father, Sir John. Sir Richard (d. 1507), who must be intended here, was the son of Sir John Nanfan, who had been Sheriff of Cornwall in 1451 and 1457. He received his 'great rome' (Deputy of Calais) sometime after 1488. Wolsey's chaplaincy with him probably dates from about 1503, for it was not long thereafter that Sir Richard returned to England, retiring to Birtsmorton, Worcestershire. A natural son, John, presumably named after Sir Richard's father, inherited his estates. Nanfan seems to have recommended Wolsey to Henry VII at his death in 1507 (Pollard, p. 13). Cavendish does not mention Wolsey's service as chaplain to Archbishop Deane, a position which he held from 1501 until the bishop's death on 15 February 1502/3.

7/14 **Doctor ffoxe**: Richard Foxe (1448?–1528). His patronage of Wolsey is amply attested (Pollard, pp. 14–16). As Bishop of Winchester, he would have been visitor of Magdalen College after 1501; this, plus his own affiliation with the college as a student earlier, may help to account for his interest in the young Wolsey. There is good evidence, however, that Foxe later opposed both Wolsey's war policy and the arbitrariness of his home rule (Pollard, pp. 102, 108–9, 190). Foxe's parting advice to Wolsey (LP, II, 1814) was 'and, good my lord, when the term is done, keep the Council with the king wherever he be,' a statement that implicitly confirms Cavendish's account (below, p. 12) of Wolsey's efforts to separate king and Council.

7/16 **sir Thomas lovell**: Sir Thomas Lovell (d. 1524) was a

student at Lincoln's Inn about 1473 and fought at Bosworth Field under Richmond in 1485. On 12 October 1485 Henry VII made him Chancellor of the Exchequer for life and thereafter he was frequently employed by the king. The two offices that Cavendish assigns to him here, Master of the Wards and Constable of the Tower, he did not receive until 1509 under Henry VIII, when he was confirmed as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Like Foxe, he seems to have been forced into retirement by Wolsey's rise and, after 1516, took little part in public affairs. Cf. W. C. Richardson, *Tudor Chamber Administration* (Baton Rouge, 1952), pp. 111–15.

7/20 Supply 'they' (the Counsellors) before 'thought' and 'him' (Wolsey) before 'a'.

7/23 **an ambassette . . . Maxymlian:** Cavendish's story of Wolsey's mission cannot be confirmed by the contemporary documents that have survived. Historians are now inclined to discredit many of its details, particularly his account of the time (about eighty hours) in which the journey was accomplished. T. W. Cameron thought that the mission might have occurred in 1507 but could offer no better authority for his view than a statement made by Bacon in his *Life of Henry VII*. Busch (pp. 381–2) believes that Cavendish's narrative refers to a mission made to the Bishop of Gurk on or about 23 August 1508. Wolsey was again in the Netherlands in October of that year and the correspondence relating to the second mission (partially preserved in LP, I, 426–452) alludes to an earlier mission made by him. Busch notes, however, that Wolsey could not have left the king 'at Richmond' (below, 8/9–10), for Henry was absent from there between the end of July and the end of August. Moreover, 'Maximilian . . . was staying at Dordrecht . . . and Wolsey could not have made the journey from Calais there in less than a day.'

7/33 **his grace presence:** Genitives without *s* are frequent in Cavendish even when the possessive word does not end with an *s*-sound; cf. 'monythe wages' 38/32–3, 'for my m^r sake' 105/11, 'my lord recognysaunce' 119/9.

9/1–4 **And hauyng . . . redy:** The construction is clumsy and somewhat redundant. Modern usage requires a comma after 'he' (l. 3).

10/9 Supply 'he' (Wolsey) before 'prepared'.

10/17 **the Deanry of lyncoine:** Wolsey was collated to this office on 2 February 1509. Henry VII undoubtedly intended the benefice

as a reward for his chaplain's services but the date argues against Cavendish's statement that the appointment resulted directly from the mission to Maximilian. By 4 June 1509 Wolsey had also received the Deanery of Hereford (Pollard, p. 13, n. 5).

10/21–2 and after . . . almener: Supply 'was' before 'after'. Wolsey did not become royal almoner until 8 November 1509 (Brodie's Preface to new ed. of LP, p. xiv) under Henry VIII. Pollard attributes his failure to achieve promotion in the first months of the new reign to the influence of Margaret of Beaufort, who apparently distrusted him.

10/34 kyng or Cayser: A Middle-English alliterative phrase, still common in the sixteenth century. See Langland (B. xix. 134), 'To be kaisere or kynge of the kyngedom of Iuda,' and note Spenser's suggestive use of the phrase in his description of Mammon's Cave (*F.Q.*, II, vii, 5. 8), 'The antique shapes of kings and kesars straunge and rare'.

10/35ff. The death of Henry VII. Henry VIII succeeded to the throne on 22 April 1509 and was crowned with Catherine, whom he had married on 11 June, on 25 June.

11/2 the second Salomon: Apparently a commonplace description of Henry VII. The phrase is used by William Forrest (pp. 30, 37–9) and later by Bacon (p. 211), who may possibly have taken it from Cavendish. The *O.E.D.*'s first example is from the 1554 edition of Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*.

11/7–8 I Omyt . . . Cronycles: Hall, for example, devotes some seven pages (506–12) to the description of the funeral and coronation ceremonies.

11/25–6 sir Richard Emsons . . . howsse: Sir Richard Empson (d. 1510). Empson had been given land in the parish of St. Bride in Fleet Street on 5 August 1507. His house there was granted to Wolsey on 18 October 1509 (Fiddes, p. 19). See *D.N.B.*

12/5 other auncyent councellours: Besides Foxe and Lovell, who have already been mentioned, these were Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury; Ruthal, Secretary to the King and Bishop of Durham; Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey; Shrewsbury, the Lord Steward; Herbert, Lord Chamberlain; Lord Darcy, Sir Edward Poynings, and Sir Harry Marney. See Pollard's (pp. 10–11) analysis of the Council during Wolsey's early years and G. R. Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 62–3.

13/23–5 The sentence involves an anacoluthon after 'qualites' (l. 25) which has been occasioned by the participle 'clymmyngh'

(l. 23) and the repetition of the subject 'Thys Almosynier (l. 23) . . . he' (l. 25).

13/29 the warres: Henry VIII had joined the holy league with the Pope, following Ferdinand's lead, on 13 November 1511. The disastrous Fuenterrabia expedition of June 1512 was recouped by the campaign of 1513 (here described by Cavendish) that followed upon Henry's treaty of 5 April 1513 with Julius, Ferdinand, and Maximilian.

14/16 passed . . . Calice: Henry arrived in Calais with a retinue of 11,000 men on 30 June 1513. He left Calais for Thérouanne on 21 July (*Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 13-14). The city fell on 23 August.

14/24 Maximylian: Henry met Maximilian before Thérouanne on 12 August (Mackie, p. 279) 'and there the emperor had wages of the kynge' (*Chronicle of Calais*, p. 14). Fiddes (p. 60) reports that the emperor received £25 per day for his services.

14/28 that . . . to take: The shift from the noun clause to the infinitive is confusing. Either 'for an emperor to take wages' or 'that an emperor should take wages'.

14/33 Tourney: Tournai, besieged early in September, capitulated on 21 September.

15/2-3 gave . . . see: Wolsey received Tournai in 1513 from Henry, but was never able to take possession of the see. A French bishop-elect, Louis Guillard, had already been appointed and for four years Wolsey carried on a controversy with him through his agent Sampson. See Polydore Vergil's account of the quarrel (*Anglica Historia*, Camden Society, 1950, p. 233) and, for Sampson, the note to 79/22 below.

15/8 he retourned . . . Englond: Henry returned to Calais on 19 October and sailed for England on the 21st.

15/10 asskymrouche: The 'skirmish' to which Cavendish refers was the famous 'Battle of the Spurs'. Hall (p. 550) tells us that 'The Frenchmen call this battaile the iourney of Spurres because they ranne away so fast on horsbacke'. The 'Duke of longvyle' was Louis d'Orleans (d. 1516), who, while a prisoner in England, helped to negotiate the marriage treaty between Henry's sister Mary and Louis XII of France. The 'Countie Clermount' was Antoine, second Count of Clermont (d. 1530), the king's Chamberlain.

15/12 the See of lyncolne: Wolsey was nominated to the see of Lincoln on 1 January 1514 (Hall, p. 567), although his predecessor, Dr. William Smith, did not die until 2 January. The papal bulls are dated 6 February and his consecration took place on 26 March.

Dr. William Smith (1460?–1514) had been translated to Lincoln from Coventry and Lichfield on 31 January 1496. He dropped out of public affairs after Margaret of Beaufort's death in 1509, and thereafter devoted his time and wealth to benefactions. Cavendish's account of Wolsey's appropriation of his goods is confirmed by the bill of articles against the cardinal of 1 December 1529 (LP, IV, 6075), where he is also charged with the same practice after his accession to the bishoprics of York, Durham, and Winchester.

15/20 Doctor Baynbryge: Christopher Bainbridge (1464?–1514), Archbishop of York, English ambassador at Rome (1509–14), and close friend of Julius II, died in Rome about 13 July 1514, allegedly poisoned by his chaplain, Rinaldo de Modena. The circumstances surrounding his death and the subsequent investigation of them are ably elucidated by Pollard (pp. 21–4). Wolsey's agent, Sylvester de Giglis, Bishop of Worcester, was implicated in the affair but was acquitted. As soon as the news of Bainbridge's death reached England (5 August), Wolsey was given the temporalities of York; he paid the fees for his promotion principally out of Bainbridge's estate. The papal bulls are dated 15 September 1514.

15/28 Caunterburye: Wolsey's controversies with William Warham (1450?–1532), Archbishop of Canterbury, were to flare up a number of times during the cardinal's career. Warham already had a long record of faithful service to the crown. He served on several diplomatic missions between 1488 and 1503, was Bishop of London in 1501, and was given the archbishopric (succeeding Deane, Wolsey's old patron) on 29 November 1503. It was Warham who consecrated Wolsey a cardinal in November 1515 (below, p. 16) and delivered up the seal to him on 22 December of that year. The *D.N.B.*, echoing Fiddes and Grove, endeavours to show that little personal enmity existed between Wolsey and Warham, but modern opinion (cf. Pollard, p. 108, n. 2) has tended to confirm Cavendish's account of the 'grudge' between them. In his later life, Warham was forced to give in to the policies of Wolsey and Henry VIII. He was chief counsel for Catherine at the divorce trial, but was of little use to her, giving as his reason '*Ira principis mors est*', a maxim which Wolsey could also find occasion to quote after his fall (below, 137/26–7).

16/4–5 Caused his Crosse . . . hym: After Wolsey received the cardinalate, he had two crosses borne before him (below, 17/28 ff.), one as archbishop and the other as cardinal, or, as Cavendish has it, 'for his legacye'. At the Westminster ceremony in which Wolsey

received the red hat, no cross was borne before Warham; 'and none was ever borne again before him in Wolsey's presence. . . . Warham had not even one in his own province, when it was illumined by Wolsey's superior lustre' (Pollard, p. 57).

16/13 legatus de latere: Wolsey did not obtain his 'legacy' until 17 May 1518 and then 'simply as a colleague to watch and control Campeggio' (Pollard, p. 170), who was coming to England to encourage interest in a crusade. In 1519 Leo X prolonged the commission for two years and, under Adrian VI, two further extensions were granted. Wolsey finally managed to secure his commission for life from Clement VII. Pollard (Ch. V) has an admirable discussion of the whole question of the legateship and the problems it created. The crux of the difficulties lay in the fact that, as legate de latere, Wolsey was a special papal envoy and hence responsible only to the Pope, while, as Chancellor and subject of Henry, he owed his allegiance to the British crown. Before him, legates de latere had been given only temporary appointments (as Campeggio's was in 1518); his unprecedented power stemmed from the union of spiritual and temporal jurisdictions in his own person.

17/1 Supply 'he' (Wolsey) before 'thought'.

17/9 Chauncelour of Englond: Wolsey received the Chancellorship on 24 December 1515, two days after Warham's resignation (above 15/28 and n.). Warham had been Lord Chancellor since 21 January 1504.

17/17 to convocatt Caunterbury: In 1523 Wolsey called Warham's convocation at St. Paul's before him in Westminster. This action is said to have inspired Skelton's famous lines: 'Gentle Paule laie downe thy swarde;/For Peter of Westminster hath shaven thy beard.' Even after his fall and shortly before his planned installation at York, he called a convocation of his province without waiting for a regular mandate from the king (Pollard, pp. 292-3).

17/19-20 takyng . . . Dyoces: The cardinal's far-reaching powers of appointment are fully discussed by Pollard (pp. 204-8). The technical term 'prevencyon' (l. 24, below) refers to 'the privilege in Canon Law possessed or claimed by an ecclesiastical superior of taking precedence of or forestalling an inferior in the execution of an official act regularly pertaining to the latter' (*O.E.D.*). The seventh of the articles against Wolsey in 1530 specifically mentions his abuse of this power (LP, IV, 6075).

17/33 the bysshopryche of Duresme: Wolsey had acquired Bath and Wells *in commendam* by a bull of 30 July 1518 and had

received its temporalities on 28 August of that year. He resigned this see for Durham in February 1523 (Le Neve, III, 293). When Foxe died on 5 October 1528 Wolsey received Winchester, which he held *in commendam* by a bull of 8 February 1529 (Le Neve, III, 16).

17/33 the Abbey of seynt Albons: Wolsey received St. Albans from Henry on 17 December 1521 (Pollard, p. 321); it was, at this time, the richest abbey in England and had, in 1535, revenues amounting to £2102 per year. Upon Wolsey's fall in 1529 it was given to Robert Catton, Prior of Norwich, who died two years later. Pollard comments (pp. 173–4) that 'it was almost unprecedented for an English archbishop to hold an English bishopric *in commendam*, and it was a still more flagrant abuse for a secular priest like Wolsey to hold such an improper *commendam* as St. Albans. . . .' Wolsey's various *in commendam* holdings were in direct violation of a decree of the Lateran Council of 1512–17.

17/33–4 in Commendam: This term was used to describe the tenure of a benefice 'commended' or given in charge to a qualified clerk or layman, to hold until a proper incumbent was provided for it, or according to a later practice, bestowed upon a layman or secular ecclesiastic, with enjoyment of the revenues for life.

18/3 in ferme . . . hereford: Cavendish seems confused in listing the bishoprics which Wolsey 'farmed out' for their non-resident incumbents. Bath was held by Hadrian de Castello or Corneto from 1504 until 1518, when he was deprived and the bishopric given to Wolsey himself (above, 17/33 and n.). Castello had formerly held Hereford (1502–4), but from 1504 onwards that see was occupied by Englishmen. Worcester was held by three 'strangers' during Wolsey's period of power: Silvester de Giglis (for whom see above, 15/20 and n.), 1498–1521; Giulio de Medici, later Pope Clement VII, 1521–22; and Jerome de Ghinucci, 1522–35. Cavendish does not mention Campeggio's possession of Salisbury, 1524–34, and Ateca's (Catherine's Spanish confessor) occupancy of Llandaff, 1517–36. It is just possible that Cavendish's confusion arose from his belief that Campeggio was Bishop of Bath. This error may have originated in his recollection that Campeggio stayed at Bath Place while he was in London in 1528 and 1529. See 77/9–10 and n.

18/26 the order of his howsse: The number of servants here listed by Cavendish totals about 406 to 409 people, depending on how the 'nine or ten' lords, each with two servants (20/8–9), are added into the account. This total does not include the miscellaneous

'retainers and suitors' (21/11–12). Cavendish's round number of 500 is thus approximately correct, but the actual count of 406–9 squares even better with the total of 429 which is given in the assessment of Wolsey's household for the subsidy of 1526 (LP, IV, 2972 and 6185). Pollard (p. 327), estimating that the number of those who would not have been assessed for the subsidy must have been as great as the number of those who were, gives the total number of servants as 'little if at all short of a thousand'.

18/32 **Cofferer**: An officer of the Royal Household, next under the controller, who had the supervision of the other officers.

18/35 **surveyor of the Dressor**: An officer of a household who superintended the preparation and serving of food. The 'dresser' was a sideboard or table on which food was dressed.

19/12 **gentilman for the monthe**: The phrase is not recorded by the *O.E.D.* It apparently means an officer appointed by the month who was replaced at the end of that time by another gentleman. But I have found no other evidence for such a rotating office in Wolsey's household.

20/4 **Pillers berers**: Those who bore Wolsey's 'pillars' which he had introduced as symbols of his office. Cf. *O.E.D.* (s.v. *Pillar* 5).

20/6 **xij . . . wayters**: It was probably in this group of servants that Cavendish himself served his master. In the list of Wolsey's suite that disembarked at Calais in 1527 he is listed among the 'Awdiences' (*Chronicle of Calais*, p. 40). The word 'audience' in this sense does not occur in the *O.E.D.*; it seems to mean 'gentleman-in-waiting' as distinct from 'gentleman-usher' proper. See the introduction, pp. xix–xx.

20/9–10 **the Erle of Derby**: Edward Stanley (1508–72), the second but eldest surviving son of Thomas Stanley, second earl, who died on 23 May 1521. The third earl was one of Wolsey's wards during his minority.

20/23 **Clarke of the Crowne**: An officer of Chancery who issued writs for the summoning of peers in the House of Lords, and writs of election for members of the House of Commons.

20/23 **ridyng Clarke**: 'One of the six Clarks of the Chancery, who takes his turn for his year to have the controlling of all Grants which passe the great Seal' (Phillipps, *Riding Clark*, 1658, cited in *O.E.D.*, s.v. *Riding*, ppl. a.).

20/23–4 **Clarke of the hamper**: Clerk of the Hanaper, that department of the Chancery into which fees were paid for the sealing and enrolment of charters and other documents.

20/24 **Chaffer of waxe**: A chafe-wax was 'an officer attending on the Lord Chancellor, whose duty it was to prepare the wax for sealing documents' (*O.E.D.*).

20/24-5 **Clarke of the Chekke**: Normally an officer in the royal household who kept the check-roll, keeping a check on the other servants in the fulfilment of their duties.

20/33 **Clarke of the Grean clothe**: An officer of the Board of Green Cloth (named from the green-covered table at which its business was originally transacted), a department of the Royal Household, consisting of the Lord Steward and his subordinates, which has control of various matters of expenditure, and legal and judicial authority within the sovereign's court-royal (after *O.E.D.*).

21/22-3 **he was . . . Charles the 5**: Charles V became emperor on 28 June 1519; his grandfather Maximilian had died (below, l. 25) on 12 January of that year. Cavendish's statement that the cardinal was sent to the emperor on two occasions seems to be erroneous, for, between 1519 and his fall in 1529, Wolsey's only special mission to Charles occurred in the summer of 1521. It is this journey which Cavendish describes in some detail in the following pages. In 1520, Wolsey was with Henry at the Field of the Cloth of Gold and, on their return from Guisnes and Ardres, both monarch and minister met Charles at Gravelines, outside Calais, on 10 July. On 26 May 1520 Wolsey had been deputed by Henry to meet Charles at Dover. Perhaps Cavendish conceived of one of these meetings as having entailed a journey to Bruges on the cardinal's part. It may be noted, however, that in his actual description (pp. 21-2) he speaks of Wolsey's mission as if it had occurred only once. Thus we find him referring to 'his Ambassett', not 'his Ambassetts', at 22/28.

21/23-4 **that nowe . . . lord**: Good evidence that this portion of the *Life* was written before the news of Charles's abdication (January 1556) reached England. Philip and Mary were married on 25 July 1554 and thus Cavendish, who tells us that he began his book on 4 November, must have written this passage sometime after 4 November 1554. See the introduction, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

21/28 **so worthy an Ambassett**: The *Chronicle of Calais* says that Wolsey arrived on the continent on 2 August 1521. On 12 August he left for Bruges and there, on 25 August, concluded a treaty between Henry and Charles. He returned to Calais on 29 August and remained there until 27 November (*Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 30-1 and Mackie, p. 311).

22/6-7 **dischargyng . . . charges:** i.e. paying all his bills for him and his train.

22/13 **ne allthough:** i.e. not even if.

22/18 **And there serued lyueres:** Hall's account (p. 625) of the entertainment given to Wolsey's retinue is equally indicative of the emperor's hospitality: 'The Englishe lordes, knightes, esquiers, yomen of the kynges gard & other beyng to the nomber of .iiii. C. lx. horse, were well lodged euery man after his degree and euery lodgyng furnished with fewell, bread, bere, wyne, Beues, Muttons, Veles, Lambes, Venison, and all maner deintie viand aswell in fishe as fleshe, with no lacke of spices and bankettyng dishes.'

24/19 **the Crane in the vyntrie:** The Vintry was 'a large house built of stone and timber, with vaults for the stowage of wines' (Stowe p. 214); it gave its name to the ward in which it stood. The Crane is explained by Stowe as 'the Three Cranes' lane, so called not only of a sign of three cranes at a tavern door, but rather of three strong cranes of timber placed on the vintry wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines with. . . .'

26/8 **the lord Sandes:** William Sandys (d. 1540), Baron Sandys of 'The Vine', near Basingstoke, Hampshire, was a great favourite of Henry VIII. In 1509, upon the young king's accession, he was made a Knight of the Body and his debts were remitted. Treasurer of Calais in 1517, he was created Baron Sandys on 27 April 1523. He did not become Lord Chamberlain until 15 April 1526, when he received the office by reversion at the death of the Earl of Worcester. Thus the masque which Cavendish here describes must have occurred at some time after that date.

26/9 **sir herry Gywldford:** Like Sandys, Sir Henry Guildford (1489–1532) was one of the young courtiers with whom Henry surrounded himself soon after his accession. He was knighted on 30 March 1512 and, after the expedition of 1513, became Master of the Revels. He was noted for his ability in devising entertainments and was frequently so employed by Henry. After Wolsey's fall, Guildford was one of the members of the committee on the articles of impeachment and he later received a pension from Wolsey's Winchester revenues.

27/9-10 **to whome . . . cast at:** i.e. they set various pieces of coin before each of the company, casting dice with the guests for them. The antecedent of 'whome' is apparently 'most worthyest' (l. 8).

27/33 **sir Edward Neveyll:** Sir Edward Neville (d. 1538), another of Henry's favourites in the early years of his reign. He was knighted

at Tournai, 25 September 1513. In 1516, he became a gentleman of the privy chamber and Master of the Buckhounds and, from then until 1538, when he was implicated in the Poles' conspiracy and executed with Montagu and Exeter, he held many offices in the royal household. He is reputed to have been a fine soldier and a handsome courtier, a description that is borne out by Cavendish's short characterization of him.

28/3 dasht owt wt: Either 'ran from the room' or 'broke forth with'. In view of the fact that the King apparently does not leave the room until l. 8 below, the latter seems more likely. The *O.E.D.* (s.v. *Dash* 2.b.) cites this passage from Holinshed's *Chronicle* where the 'with' is omitted and defines the phrase as meaning 'drove impetuously forth or out'. Cavendish's intransitive usage is not recorded.

29/3 Venus . . . goddesse: Wolsey's complaint in Cavendish's poems has the lines: 'Thus Venus the goddesse that called is of love/ Spared not with spight to bryng me from above' (II, 14).

29/4–5 She brought . . . gentillwoman: Cavendish's mention of Anne Boleyn introduces us to the highly controversial question of the Divorce. Modern historians, like their predecessors, have disagreed considerably on both the facts of the matter and the interpretation that is to be placed upon them. The most recent account (Mackie, pp. 322ff.), while emphasizing the role that Wolsey played in supporting the king's attempt to divorce Catherine, is inclined to credit the king himself with the germinal idea. Hughes (I, 157–9) places the sole responsibility for all the proceedings squarely on Henry's shoulders. Anne's own refusal to acquiesce in Henry's wishes until it became certain that she would be queen undoubtedly 'fired' (the metaphor is Cavendish's) the king's passion to the utmost. Despite the contention of Pollard (p. 19, n. 2), followed by Mackie (p. 323) that the idea of the divorce first arose in 1514, an examination of the relevant items in the *Venetian Calendar* (see also Mattingly, pp. 127 and 320–1) would tend to show that the question did not arise before the winter of 1526–7.

29/9 sir Thomas Bolayn: Most historians now agree with Cavendish's account of the manner in which Sir Thomas Boleyn (1477–1539) achieved the royal favour which he enjoyed between 1522 and the downfall of his daughter and son. His dislike of Wolsey probably went back to 1515 when the cardinal succeeded in convincing Henry that his promise to Boleyn of the treasurership of the royal household should be denied or at least postponed (Pollard, p. 222, n. 1). Boleyn became Comptroller of the Household in 1520 but he

did not receive the treasurership until April 1522, a date which, interestingly enough, corresponds to the presumed date of the Percy-Anne episode (see below, 29/34 and n.). Friedmann (I, 43) gives the following list of Boleyn's appointments between 1522 and 1525: '... on the 24th of April, 1522, the patent of treasurer of the household; five days later the stewardship of Tunbridge, the receivership of Bransted, and the keepership of the manor of Penshurst; in 1523 the keepership of Thunderby and Westwood Park, and in 1524 the stewardship of Swaffham. Having by all these lucrative employments obtained sufficient means to sustain the dignity, Sir Thomas was in 1525 created Lord Rochford.' In addition, he became a Knight of the Garter in 1523. On 8 December 1529, one week after the articles against Wolsey were presented in Parliament, Boleyn became Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, and, on 24 January 1530 Lord Privy Seal.

29/19 his Sonne: George Boleyn, Viscount Rochford. Arrested on 2 May 1536, after the famous May Day tournament, he was executed, on a charge of 'incest and treason', on 17 May, two days before Anne met the same fate.

29/24-5 I will . . . you: The 'do' in l. 24 is redundant; 'declare you,' i.e. 'declare unto you'.

29/25-6 beyng very yong . . . ffraunce: If, as most authorities now incline to believe, Anne was born in 1507, she would have been only seven years old when she first went to France in 1514 with Henry VIII's sister, Mary. It is, of course, by no means certain that she was in France so early and some historians have believed that it was Anne's sister, Mary, who is referred to as 'M. Boleyne' in the list of Mary's suite (Friedmann, II, 316-22). The 'ffrenche Quene' was Claude, Francis I's consort (d. 1524). Cavendish confuses his chronology when he asserts that Anne did not return to England until 'the ffrenche Quene dyed' (ll. 27-8, below). The Percy episode occurred in 1522 and Anne must have been back in England by January of that year when Francis I wrote that 'Mr. Boullan's daughter had returned to her country' (LP, III, 1994). She took part in an entertainment at Wolsey's house on 4 March 1522 (Revels Accounts, LP, III, pp. 1558-9).

29/34 my lord Percye: Henry Algernon Percy, sixth Earl of Northumberland (1502?-37), was brought up, according to the custom of the period, in Wolsey's household. Knighted in 1519, he had been destined by his father to be the husband of Mary Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, from as far back as 1516. His

affair with Anne, says the *D.N.B.* (s.v. Anne Boleyn), can be shown to have taken place as early as 1522 'by the most conclusive evidence'. In October of that year Percy was sent to the North, serving there as Deputy Warden of the Marches. For a full discussion, see Brewer's Preface to LP, IV, pp. ccxliii–ccxliv. He married Mary Talbot in late 1523 or early 1524, but their union was a most unhappy one. She soon returned to her father and later, in 1532, accused Percy of a pre-contract with Anne. When this matter came up again in 1536 at the time of Anne's indictment, Percy vehemently denied the existence of any precontract (see his letter in Singer, pp. 464–5).

30/10–11 **revealed . . . Cardynall:** If Henry did conceive an affection for Anne as early as 1522, he certainly kept his project well concealed for some years thereafter. It would seem that at the moment he was more interested in Anne's sister, Mary; moreover, it is probable that the projected marriage between Anne and the son of the Earl of Ormond (mentioned as early as September 1520) was the real cause of Henry's interference at this time. At 31/7–9 Wolsey tells Percy that Henry 'entendyd to haue preferred hir/vnto an other person/wt whome the kyng hathe travelled allredye'.

30/16–17 **byfore vs his seruauntes:** For the first time in his narrative Cavendish speaks of himself as an eye-witness to the events which he describes. We are thus enabled to date his entry into Wolsey's service as occurring at least as early as 1522. See the introduction, p. xix.

31/20–1 **right noble parentage:** Sir William Boleyn (d. 1515), Anne's paternal grandfather, had married Margaret Butler, daughter of Sir Thomas Ormond, who was later seventh Earl of Ormond. Anne's father had married the lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas Howard, afterwards second Duke of Norfolk. For Howard, see below (94/23 and n.).

32/5 **Yes qd he:** The 'yes' is spoken by Percy, to whom 'he' refers. Wolsey then continues with 'I warraunt the . . .'

33/29 **I haue . . . Boyes:** Northumberland had two other sons besides Henry: Sir Thomas Percy (d. 1537) and Sir Ingelram Percy (d. 1540). The old earl did not carry out the threat that Cavendish here depicts him as making; his eldest son succeeded to the title at his father's death on 19 May 1527.

34/10 **the same:** i.e. the precontract ('assuraunce') between Anne and Percy.

34/11–12 **oon . . . doughters:** For Mary Talbot, see above (29/34 and n.) and, for the Earl of Shrewsbury, below (140/15 and n.).

34/13–14 **Anne Bolloyn . . . offendyd:** Cavendish is probably right in associating the origin of Anne's opposition to the cardinal with the Percy episode. Her father and Wolsey had never been friends and, in 1529, the cardinal sharply rebuked Boleyn (below, 87/14ff.). For an earlier dispute between them, see above (29/9 and n.). In 1527 Anne would have been further incensed by the knowledge that Wolsey was scheming to marry Henry to Renée, the sister of Claude, Francis I's queen (Pollard, p. 222 and below, 62/7ff.). Certainly, as Cavendish notes, Wolsey can be exonerated from any blame in the Percy affair; in this case he was merely carrying out the will of his master.

34/19–20 **commaundyd . . . Court:** Cavendish speaks as if Anne's stay with her father (at Illever, the family manor, in Kent) was not long. This is in accord with the tradition that she was again in France before 1525. She returned to the Court sometime between 1525 and 1527 but the circumstances of her recall are obscure.

35/4–5 **althoughe . . . hir:** Either 'although she knew that he had a great affection unto her' or 'despite the fact that the king had a great affection unto her'. The 'that' seems to make the first more likely. Cavendish apparently meant to set up an antithesis between 'affection' (1. 5) and 'great love' (1. 6).

35/21–2 **a perfect Grysheld:** See Appendix A.

35/27 **Comenwell:** *MS.* Coen well. Other editors have read 'scene well' but 'scene' in this sense (*O.E.D.* 10) is not recorded before 1679. Cavendish frequently omits the abbreviation mark for *m* in 'comen' (e.g. 78/34) and 'well' is a normal variant of 'wele' or 'weal'.

35/29 **caught an occasion . . . :** The opposition to Wolsey in the Council was led by Norfolk and the Boleyns, supported (at least later) by Suffolk (Pollard, pp. 222–3). Wolsey's efforts to reduce the nobility to a level with 'other meane subiectes' had already caused a great deal of dissent. As early as 1516, according to Hall (p. 585), the cardinal had 'punyshed also lordes, knyghtes, and men of all sortes for ryottes, beryng and mayntenaunce in their countreyes, that the poore men lyued quyetyl, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonment: but he him selfe and his seruauntes, which were well punished therfore.'

36/32–3 **that . . . Imagyned:** Cavendish presumably alludes to speculations about the divorce. It is this topic which he takes up when he 'comes to the place' on p. 74, where the 'dyuers Imagynacions' are again mentioned.

37/1 Than began: For the Battle of Pavia and the events which led up to it, see Appendix B.

37/17-18 that an Ambasset . . . Emprour: For the details of these negotiations, which took place in the summer of 1523, see Lavisie (V, ii, 29-30) who gives a full account of the treaties that were signed by Henry VIII, Charles V, and the Duke.

37/23-4 oon . . . men: Apparently the Marquis of Pescara, Ferdinando Francesco d'Avaloz, Charles V's general with whom Bourbon joined forces in an effort to raise the siege of Pavia.

37/25-6 sir John Russell: The English plan to enlist the aid of Bourbon against the French had begun as far back as June 1523, when Sir John Russell (1486?-1555) was sent to the Duke for the first time (LP, II, 3217). Russell came to an agreement with Bourbon in early September and was back in England by the 26th. He set off again with £12,000 in October 1523 and remained with or near Bourbon until after Pavia. He got more money in 1524, but sent it back to England. It is not certain that payments to Bourbon were completely cut off, but there can be little doubt that Wolsey was already beginning to shift to the French side (Mackie, pp. 314-15). Cavendish carries the cardinal's 'policy' a step further when he mentions (below, 41/28) a 'leage' between Henry and Francis which was captured by Bourbon at Pavia. No pact had been signed, although Wolsey was certainly thinking along such lines.

Russell had a long and active career under Henry, Edward, and Mary. It was he who, on 1 November 1529, brought Wolsey a ring from the king (below, 110/22). On 19 January 1550 he was created Earl of Bedford for his service in suppressing the rebels at St. Mary's Clyst.

38/16 Iohn Iokyn: The fullest account of the mission of Jean Joachim de Passano is given by Jacqueton (pp. 53ff.). This secret agent, a man of mystery to Hall as well as to Cavendish, was a Genoese, the secretary of Fregosa, governor of Genoa, who was resident at the French court as early as 1520. Joachim was at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in that year and seems to have become maître d'hôtel to Louise of Savoy shortly thereafter. He arrived in London on 22 June 1524, having disguised himself as an Italian merchant while on the Continent waiting for a safe-conduct. Cavendish probably retails the common gossip of the day when he makes him to be 'a man byfore of no estymacyon'. Hall (p. 691), contrary to Cavendish's statement that Joachim stayed at Richmond (below, l. 23), says that the envoy 'was kept close in the house of doctor

Larke, a Prebendary of saint Steuens, and euery daie priuely speake with the Cardinall'. This Thomas Lark was the brother of Wolsey's mistress. De Praet, the imperial ambassador, protested vigorously against Joachim's presence and was temporarily imprisoned by Wolsey for his interference (Pollard, p. 138, n.). Joachim was joined by Jean Brilon, another ambassador, on 22 January 1525; the two colleagues succeeded so well in their mission that on 6 March, three days before the news of Pavia reached London, they could write to Louise that Wolsey 'said he was beginning to be considered a Frenchman [cf. Cavendish's comment, above, ll. 11–12], and was willing, for their sakes, to be as good a Frenchman as he had been a Spaniard, for he had only helped the Spaniards from necessity' (LP, IV, 1160).

39/23–4 (**as I dought . . . vs:** The parentheses seem to be incorrectly placed; Cavendish apparently means the Duke to say 'and I have no fear that he will deceive us.'

41/21 **Suspectyng . . . entre:** i.e. not in the least suspecting the duke's entry.

42/2–3 **he went . . . Rome:** Contrary to Cavendish's account, Bourbon did not advance immediately upon Rome; his disgruntled troops finally broke into the city on 6 May 1527. Clement VII was imprisoned in Castle Angelo and Wolsey had an added reason for his trip to France. Bourbon died in the first assault. The Pope was not released by the emperor until December 1527, when he was allowed to go to Orvieto. It is perhaps worth noting that Rome was sacked by Italian and Spanish troops in September 1526 as well as in 1527; Cavendish may have confused the two different attacks, the second of which was far more severe than the first. Even so, a good year and one half intervened between Pavia and the first assault on the holy city.

42/22–3 **And therfore . . . successe:** The second clause partially repeats and partially explains the first. One might paraphrase 'and thus it is that they come to such an end and that their affairs have such an outcome [success].' Cavendish's 'suche' is, of course, ironic.

42/31–2 **if the kyng . . . ffrance:** This was Wolsey's own reaction when he first heard the news of Francis's capture (Mackie, pp. 313–14).

43/16 **the ffrenche kynges delyuere:** Wolsey had managed to make peace with France on 30 August 1525, when the so-called 'Treaty of the Moor' was signed at his palace of that name between

Rickmansworth and Northwood (LP, IV, 1600). Contrary to Cavendish's statement that Wolsey dictated terms to the emperor (below, I. 19), this treaty had little effect on the Treaty of Madrid which Charles V forced on Francis in the following January (Pollard, p. 148). Francis was released on 17 March 1526 after his two eldest sons, Francis, the Dauphin (1517–36), and the Duke d'Orleans (1518–59), were delivered to Charles as hostages.

44/13 ther Cheafe mrs: Most modern historians agree with Cavendish's statement that, during Wolsey's journey to France, Anne ingratiated herself with Henry as she had not been able to do before. See, for example, Mattingly's account (pp. 257–8). How much the cardinal knew of this while he was in France is perhaps open to question, but it is interesting to note that Sir William Fitzwilliam saw fit to tell him in a letter of 31 July (LP, IV, 3318) from Beaulieu that the king was supping daily with Norfolk, Suffolk, Exeter, and Rochford. Wolsey certainly learned of what had been going on when he returned in September (below, 64/10–11 and n.). By 26 October Mendoza, the imperial ambassador, could report that Norfolk and the Boleyns had become 'heads of a league against Wolsey and [that] Wolsey himself [was] "now trying all he can to prevent the divorce" for fear of Anne becoming queen' (Pollard, p. 222, quoting *Spanish Calendar*, 1527–29, p. 432).

44/18–19 this Journey: Cavendish's vividly detailed description of the cardinal's mission can be strikingly substantiated from many passages in the *Letters and Papers* and from Hall's account (pp. 728–32). Wolsey's commission, under which he was appointed 'King's lieutenant and plenipotentiary in France,' is set out in LP, IV, 3186 (18 June 1527). He was empowered to secure the ratification of the treaties of Westminster made the previous April, in which war on the emperor had been agreed upon (Pollard, pp. 152–4). Moreover, he intended to get himself made vicar-general during the Pope's imprisonment and, if possible, to call a special conclave at Avignon. Finally, he was to break the news of the king's plans for a divorce to Francis I. Despite Cavendish's suspension of judgement (below II. 19–20), there can be little doubt that Wolsey saw his mission as a grand moment in his career.

44/21–2 after . . . therof: i.e. after it had been decided that he should undertake the embassy.

44/25–6 thys noble ambassett: LP, IV, 3216 gives a partial list of the members of Wolsey's suite and mentions that it contained '900 horse'. Unfortunately, the MS. (Cotton Caligula D. x. f. 103) is

mutilated; otherwise we should probably find that it, like the *Chronicle of Calais* (pp. 38–40), mentions a 'mastar Caundishe' in Wolsey's train. The Chronicle confirms the 900 horses of the *Letters and Papers*; Hall (p. 728) says Wolsey left London with 'twelue hundredre horse'.

44/29–30 Than . . . forward: Wolsey left London on 3 July 1527. His itinerary to Dover is summed up in LP, IV, 3231 (cf. *State Papers*, I, 196).

45/16 sir Richard wyltchers howsse: Wolsey actually stayed at Sir John Wiltshire's house on this occasion (LP, IV, 3231). Sir John was at this time Controller of Calais (see LP, IV, p. 2227 and no. 2507). Wordsworth notes (p. 519) that his house was Stone Place, 17 miles from London, 2 miles beyond Dartford, and near Greenwich.

45/18 The next day: 4 July.

45/21 the ijde day: 5 July. See Wolsey's letter to Henry from there (LP, IV, 3231).

45/23 The iijth day: 6 July. See LP, IV, 3243, 3244, and 3247. Wolsey left Canterbury on 10 July and sailed from Dover on the 11th.

45/28 the feast of Seynt Thomas: 7 July, the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Cavendish's description of the festival closely follows that of Hall (p. 728): 'and at Cauntorburie he rested, & there to the people declared the destruction of Rome, & howe the Pope was in captiuitie with many Cardinalles: wherfore he caused a Letany to be song by the monkes of Christes Church, after this maner. S. Maria, ora pro Clemente papa. Se Petri ora pro Clemente papa. & so furthe al ye letany: then he exhorted the people to fast & pray for his deliueraunce.'

46/7 launceknyghtes: 'Originally the German word (*lands-knecht*) denoted the mercenary foot-soldiers belonging to the imperial territory, in contra-distinction to the Swiss; but it was very early applied in a wider sense' (O.E.D.). Cavendish uses the term here to refer to the German (Lutheran) mercenaries in the pay of the Duke of Bourbon who committed so many outrages at Rome in 1527.

46/7 The next day: Cavendish left Wolsey on 8 July and reached Calais that evening. He remained there until the morning of the 11th, when the cardinal arrived. In LP, IV, 3254 Wolsey writes that he embarked between three and four in the morning on 11 July and reached Calais by nine.

46/15 receyvyed in procession, etc.: For the cardinal's activities while in Calais and the preparations for his advance into France, see LP, IV, 3262, 3269, 3279, and 3288. On 13 July, Wolsey issued a 'Proclamation for establishing of trade and merchandizing and traffique with the towne and marches of Callice, with divers immunitiess and freedoms concerning the same' (LP, IV, 3262; text in the *Chronicle of Calais*, pp. 102-9). This is apparently the 'marte' that Cavendish (below, 64/3) speaks of Wolsey as founding upon his return to Calais in September. Hall (p. 729) assigns the event to July and implies that the mart failed because Calais 'was a towne of warre', which made it impossible for the merchants to have complete freedom of movement, and because 'the hauen is not able to receiue greate Hulkes and Carikes that come to a marte'. The establishment of the mart was evidently intended as an affront to the emperor, with whose Flemish merchants the English had long been accustomed to trade.

46/23-4 clean remyssion: Wolsey, as Papal Legate, had the power to grant Plenary Indulgences, which remitted all of the temporal punishment due to sin. He repeats this special blessing later at Peterborough after his fall (below, 133/20) and in France (below, 49/26) he gives 'certyn dayes of pardon', i.e. a Partial Indulgence, or partial remission of temporal punishment, to the citizens of Boulogne.

46/29 Monsur de Bees: Du Biez's visit to Wolsey apparently did not occur until the 17th (LP, IV, 3269 and 3279). Oudart, Seigneur du Biez (d. 1553) was Chamberlain to the king, Captain of Boulogne (June 1523), and later Marshall of France (1542).

46/35 he called byfore hym: Wolsey's speech to his retainers must have occurred on 21 July, for he left Calais on the 22nd and arrived at Boulogne that evening.

47/25 wyllyng and commaund you: So MS. There should perhaps be a full stop before 'wyllyng'. Supply 'I' (Wolsey) as the subject of 'wyllyng' and 'commaund'. The shift from the participle to the finite verb, though frequent in Cavendish, is more confusing than usual in this instance.

48/2-3 oon of the gentilmen: This 'Rice' is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Calais* (p. 40) as one of Wolsey's 'Awdiences' in the 1527 embassy. He may have been the John ap Price or ap Rhys mentioned in the *D.N.B.* (XLVI, p. 329), who was a servant of the king in 1519, and later officiated as a servitor at the coronation of Anne Boleyn. It is not impossible, however, that he is to be identified with Sir

John ap Price (d. 1573?) who was a visitor of the monasteries and seems to have been in Cromwell's service at least as early as 1532 (*D.N.B.*, *ibid.*).

48/29–30 **the brode seale**: On his 1521 mission to Bruges Wolsey had not hesitated to take the Broad Seal with him, thus holding up royal business in England (Pollard, p. 92; LP, III, 1650, 1675, 1680, and 1762). By September 1527 Henry needed the Seal again and commanded Taylor to seal and deliver some letters patent immediately. But the Master of the Rolls first wrote to Wolsey to ask his permission before acting on the king's order.

48/32 **it began . . . vehemently**: Cf. Wolsey's letter to Henry (LP, IV, 3289, 22 July) where the cardinal tells of his meeting at Sandingfield with the Lieutenant of Picardy (below, 49/6–7); mentions three pageants that were presented for him (Hall, p. 729, describes them); notes that the day was very wet and stormy; and describes his visit to 'Our Lady Churche' (below, 49/23).

48/34–49/1 **the Cardynall of lorrain**: For this gentleman and his three brothers see below (52/23 and n.).

49/6 **le Countie Brian**: Philippe de Chabot, Admiral de Brion (1480–1543), who had been appointed Admiral by Francis after Bonivet's death at Pavia.

49/8 **Stradiates and Arbanoys**: A sort of light-armed cavalry. Cf. Jean Nicot's description of these troops (*Thresor De La Langue Françoise*, Paris, 1606, Sig. C): '... celuy qui habite en cette contrée de Macedoine, ou d'Epire comme aucuns veulent. Et à present on appelle en particulier Albanois ces hommes de cheual armez à la legere, autrement dite Stradiote, ou Stradiots (par la consone moyenne) qui portent les chapeaux à haute testiere, desquels on se sert pour cheuaux legers, qui viennent dudit pais d'Albanie, dont les Papes se seruent encore de ce temps és garnisons de plusieurs villes du Saint Siege.'

49/11 **ffor my lord . . . Emprour**: Wolsey feared that he might be attacked from Charles V's domains in Burgundy and the Low Countries.

49/28 **The next mornynge**: 23 July. On the 24th Wolsey writes to Henry of his arrival at Montreuil (LP, IV, 3294) and tells him that the Prior of the White Friars (probably Cavendish's 'oon learned', below, l. 31) made him an oration.

50/4–5 **le Cardynall pacyfike**: Cf. Hall (p. 730), 'and euer he was called *Cardinalis pacificus* the Cardinall pacifique, and so was wriuen at the gate of his lodging [at Amiens]'.

50/7 **The next day:** 24 July (LP, IV, 3295). The mayor's secretary made him an oration on this occasion.

50/16 **kyng lowice:** Henry's sister, Mary (1496–1533), had married Louis XII of France (1462–1515) at Abbeville on 9 October 1514. Louis died on 1 January 1515, and Mary, who had agreed to the marriage only on the condition that she would be allowed to choose for herself the next time, married Suffolk in the following spring.

50/17–18 **the Duke of Suffolk:** Like Wolsey, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (d. 1545), had risen to power from the lower ranks of society. His father had been Henry VII's standard bearer at Bosworth Field and was killed there by Richard III himself. Charles is not heard of until Henry VIII's reign, but he soon became a great favourite of the young king. He was Marshall of the 1513 expedition and on 1 February 1514 became Duke of Suffolk. His precipitate marriage to Henry's sister in 1515 brought him into temporary disfavour, but he escaped with a heavy fine. Suffolk plays an important part in the drama of Wolsey's fall; see below (90/24 ff. and n. and 98/1ff.).

50/18–19 **And beyng w'in . . . Gallery:** The sentence, as it stands, is elliptical. We might paraphrase 'once one was within he could see that the house was constructed in the manner of a gallery'. The gallery-like shape of the house might imply that it was uncomfortable; consequently Cavendish notes, in the next line that 'notwithstanding it was very necessary' (comfortable).

50/20 **vijth or x^{en} dayes:** Wolsey remained at Abbeville from 24 July until 3 August (LP, IV, 3337).

50/25 **Pynkney castell:** The cardinal reached Picquigny on 3 August and lodged there at a 'castle of Mons. Vidams' (LP, *ibid.*).

50/31 **Edward the iiijth:** Cavendish could have read of this meeting at Picquigny (29 August 1475) in Hall (pp. 318ff.), who gives a very full account. The phrase 'Cronycles of Englond' might suggest that Cavendish is speaking of the so-called 'Saint Albans Chronicle,' published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1515 and 1528 as *The Cronycles of Englonde*. But this chronicle stops at the year 1460 with the coronation of Edward IV. Since no other chronicle of the period bore this title, we should probably take Cavendish's phrase as a generic reference to the various history writers who had described the event.

50/34–5 **that the ffrenche kyng . . . Amyens:** Francis I arrived in Amiens on 3 August (Hall, pp. 729–30).

51/9–10 Madame Regent: This was the famous Louise of Savoy (1476–1531), with whom Wolsey had many dealings during his career. For a full account of the relationship between them, see Jacqueton.

51/11 the Quene of Naver: Marguerite d'Orléans, sister of Francis I and Duchess of Alençon, had become Queen of Navarre by her marriage to Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, on 3 January 1526.

51/23 Souches: These were Switzers or 'Swissers', hired Swiss mercenaries. Cavendish's form goes back ultimately to the French 'Suisse', Wolsey, in the *State Papers* (I, 207), writes 'Swiches'. Neither form is recorded by the *O.E.D.*

51/31 and 33 Supply 'was' before 'conveyed' in both lines.

51/34 The next mornynge: 4 August.

52/6–7 the kyng . . . hymē: The cardinal gave his own description of this encounter in a letter to Henry of 9 August (LP, IV, 3337).

52/23–5 The Cardinal of Lorraine, the Duke of Lorraine, Monsieur de Guise, and Monsieur Vaudemont: All four of these noblemen were, as Cavendish notes, brothers, and sons of René de Lorraine (d. 1508). Antoine, Duke of Lorraine (d. 1544), the oldest surviving son, succeeded to the title at the age of nineteen. Claude, the second son (d. 1550), had just been created Comte de Guise by Francis I (January 1527) for service done in the king's wars. Jean, the third son (d. 1550), was Cardinal and Archbishop of Reims and Lyon. Louis, the fourth son (d. 1528), was Comte de Vaudemont.

52/25–6 apparellēd . . . Purpull veluett: John Croke, one of Wolsey's chancery clerks, disagrees about the colour of the king's outer garments. On 21 August (LP, IV, 3369) he wrote to Cromwell that 'the French king . . . did were that day that he met first with my Lord's gra[ce a gown] of black velvet, which was here and there cut and laid [in with] white sarcenet, and tied together with small aglets of go[ld.]'

52/32 that he . . . horsse: The 'he' probably refers to Wolsey, whose mule had already given him trouble at Boulogne. On that occasion Wolsey wrote to Henry that he could not describe the pageants presented before him because his mule shied so much during them (LP, IV, 3289).

53/16–17 The next day: 5 August. Wolsey's visit took place at three in the afternoon. Francis's 'disease' was a chaffed leg that had already caused him to delay his meeting with Wolsey. The cardinal found it so swelled that the king could not stand (LP, IV, 3317 and 3337).

53/27 ij wekes& more: Wolsey himself remained at Amiens until after 30 August (LP, IV, 3391). He arrived at Compiègne on 1 September (LP, IV, Appendix, no. 117, p. 3122). Francis left Amiens on Monday, 19 August (LP, IV, 3365), so that Cavendish's 'two weeks and more' proves to be fairly exact.

53/28-9 the Assumpcion: 15 August. But Cavendish seems to have confused the activities of that day with the solemn swearing of the peace on 18 August. For the Treaty of Amiens (dated 18 August) see LP, IV, 3356. On the feast of the Assumption Wolsey said mass at Amiens and gave the sacrament to the lady regent (LP, IV, 3369); afterwards he dined with the king. Croke describes the ceremonies of the 18th as follows: 'The French king and Regent in one traves, which was passing [lofty and on the] south side of the high altar, and on the north side a little mount of three steps for Wolsey, [on which] was set a cloth of estate and two chairs without any trav[es.]' (LP, IV, 3369). Wolsey himself wrote that he had been to the cathedral with Francis on the 14th for evensong and he noted that there 'were two traverses, one for me, and one for the French king' (LP, IV, 3350). The passage that begins with the words 'And in the feast of the Assumpcion' (53/28-9) and ends with 'as my lord dyned w^t hym' (54/20) is omitted in most of the secondary manuscripts, perhaps for religious reasons.

53/30 de noster dame: Cf. the variant form 'de notre dame' at 51/7.

54/21-2 that the kyng . . . Amyens: Cavendish is in error in reporting that Wolsey and Francis left together. See above (53/27 and n.).

54/25 beyng vppon a fffriday: This must have been Friday, 30 August, for Wolsey was in Compiègne on 1 September. Cavendish, of course, notes the day of the week in order to explain the bit of bad luck that overtook him on his way; like his master, the gentleman-usher may have been somewhat given to 'superstition'—and this despite (or perhaps partly because of) his violent disclaimer later (below, 128/28^{ff.}). The 'littill village' was Moreuil, about twelve miles from Amiens and nine from Montdidier.

55/10 monsur Creekey: Jean, sire de Crecqui, who was governor of Montreuil in 1526. He married Jossine de Soissons in 1497 and seems to have died in 1543.

55/29 my lorde of Suffolk: For Suffolk, see above (50/17-18 and n.).

56/24-6 an Englysshe man . . . offence: The Tudor English-

man was quite different in this respect from his more sober descendants of the present day. Cf. Wordsworth's note (pp. 533–4) on this passage, where he cites a letter of Erasmus on this, for the sixteenth century, peculiarly English custom. Note also Whytford's *Pype of Perfection* (1532, fol. 213^v), 'it bycommeth nat therfore y^e persones religious to vse any touchyng/ nor to folowe the maner of seculer persones/ y^t in theyr congresses/ & commune metynges or departyng done vse to kysse/ take handes/ or such other touchinges that good religious persones: shulde vtterly auoyde.' But, later in the *Life* (164/7–8), we find that Wolsey 'kyst barehedyd' my lady Shrewsbury 'and all hir gentilwomen'.

56/25 Custumet: Possibly an error by Cavendish for 'custom' but perhaps a genuine nonce formation. The *O.E.D.*, which does not list 'customet', records the form 'custumhede' from the fourteenth century.

56/34 ffor she . . . Arde: i.e. with Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold between Guisnes and Ardres in June 1520.

57/6–7 that nyght . . . Montdedyer: Presumably the night of 30 August. Suffolk had laid siege to Montdidier on 27 October 1523; the town surrendered, after a great bombardment, on the 28th. Cavendish (below, 57/9) reached Compiègne on 31 August.

57/32–3 the Chauncelor of ffraunce: Antoine Duprat (1463–1535) had been Chancellor of France since 1515 and held that office until his death. After the death of his wife in 1520, he took orders and was made a cardinal by Wolsey in 1527 (below, 63/31–2).

58/3–4 the leage: i.e. the treaties of Westminster, signed 30 April 1527. See above (44/18–19 and n.).

58/6–7 my lord . . . stoutly: Cavendish is probably wrong in placing this quarrel at Compiègne after the Treaty of Amiens had been signed. The altercation described is almost certainly that which Wolsey related to Henry in a postscript to his letter of 9 August (LP, IV, 3337). The cardinal there speaks of opposition 'between me and the French king's council' that was settled by Madame Regent, who 'came suddenly to my lodging' and 'rated the Chancellor and others soundly' (see below, l. 20, for Louise's visit to Wolsey).

58/25–6 he hadde . . . gyrdell: Cavendish may well be echoing one of Wolsey's own boasts; Roy's *Rede Me* (p. 114) begs for God's judgement 'Agaynst soche a wicked brothell/[Wolsey] Which sayth/ vnder his girthell/He holdeth Kynges and Princes'.

58/27 the next mornyng: From this point on in his description of the French mission Cavendish's narrative becomes extremely confused. Events are vividly and accurately described, but the order in which they actually occurred is often violated. The *Letters and Papers* are not complete enough to provide a full solution of the difficulties involved here and the following notes, which are based upon them, must be taken as somewhat tentative.

If the conflict with the French Council (see the note to 58/6–7, above) occurred, as Cavendish implies, at Compiègne, then these letters were probably those of 5 September (LP, IV, 3400), which 'Gunner' could have carried. On the other hand, if the quarrel took place, as has been suggested, about 7–8 August at Amiens, then the letters were presumably those of 9 August (LP, IV, 3337) from Amiens. We know that 'Christopher Gunner' (for whom, see below) was back with Wolsey on 13 September and that Wolsey sent him off again to Henry on that day with the news of his return from France in the near future (LP, IV, 3420 and 3422; see below, 63/26, for Gunner's return in Cavendish). The crux of the problem lies in Cavendish's statement 'the next mornyng after this conflycte', which may be erroneous. Wolsey's letter of 5 September is a long one and it would have been urgent, for in it the cardinal showed that he had heard of the dispatching of Knight to the Pope for the first time. Knight reached Compiègne on 10 September and on the 13th mentions Gunner's arrival. There would thus have been time for the courier to leave Wolsey on the 5th and return eight days later with new instructions for Knight. 'Christopher Gunner' was noted for his speed as a messenger (LP, IV, 2828).

'Gunner's' real name was Christopher Morris, Mores, or Morice (1490?–1544) and he had been one of Henry's gunners (Chief Gunner, 4 February 1527) in the Tower since 1513. He was not knighted until 18 October 1539. Cavendish's reference to him as 'Cristofer Gonner' can be paralleled in Hall's account of the role which he played in the raid on Morlaix, July 1522. Hall describes him, within the space of one paragraph (pp. 642–3), as 'Christopher Morres the master Gunner', 'the Gunner', and 'sir Christopher Gunner'.

59/11 The next nyght: Once more Cavendish seems to have confused his sequence of events. This banquet, which was attended by both Francis and his mother, most probably occurred on Monday, 19 August, at Amiens. In LP, IV, 3365, Wolsey writes to Henry that the 'French king, my lady, the king of Navarre, many nobles &

prelates' are to dine with him that night (19 August). He goes on to state that Francis will leave after the dinner to visit certain places in accordance with vows made during his illness (see Cavendish, below, 60/2ff.). The cardinal's words are confirmed by Croke in his letter to Cromwell of 21 August (LP, IV, 3369) where he states that 'after dinner the French king did remove, and, as they sa[y, will] meet with us again at Compiègne'. Cavendish, however, speaks as if the banquet were at Compiègne in the first place and has Francis leaving that town and then returning to it (see below, 60/12, 'Then the kyng Retorned agayn vnto Compigne').

59/14 madam Reigne: Renée (1510–1574), daughter of Louis XII and sister of Francis I's queen, Claude, who had died in 1524. Francis was not so much interested in preventing Renée's marriage as in making sure that he did not lose Brittany. In 1515 he had arranged to marry her to Charles of Burgundy and he was not opposed to Wolsey's scheme whereby she might marry Henry VIII (see below, 62/9). She was eventually married to Hercule d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, on 28 June 1528; under the terms of the marriage contract, both she and the Duke renounced all claim to Brittany and received instead Chartres, Gisors, and Montargis.

59/25–6 the kyng of Naverne: Henri d'Albret (1503–1555). For his marriage to Francis' sister, Marguerite, see above (51/11 and n.).

59/34–5 oon madame flountayn: Certainty with regard to the identity of this young lady is probably impossible. I can only suggest that she may have been Marie, the daughter of Jacques de Fontaines (d. 1548?) by his second wife, Guyonne de Belloy, whom he married in 1508. Marie was married in 1530 to Thibaut d'Amfreville, Seigneur de Maizières. Her family was from Picardy.

60/6 Shalme: The shawm was 'a medieval musical instrument of the oboe class, having a double reed enclosed in a globular mouth-piece' (*O.E.D.*).

60/14 huntyng . . . wyld Swyne: We have two letters from Sir Anthony Browne to Henry VIII that relate to hunting in France during the 1527 embassy. The first (LP, IV, 3368) was written from Amiens on 21 August and mentions that Browne had been deer hunting with Francis on the 16th. The second (LP, IV, 3437) from Montdidier on 18 September, speaks of Francis's offer to supply Henry with some wild swine. Boar hunting, according to Lavisse (*Histoire*, V, i, 188–9), was much esteemed by Francis I: 'À la chasse, un jour, François I^e lutta seul contre un sanglier. Cet exploit fournit plus tard une matière inépuisable à la chronique, à la poésie, à la

peinture. Hercule, le sanglier de Calydon, tout l'attirail mythologique s'y mêla pour l'illustrer.' Cavendish's boar hunt seems to have occurred near Compiègne, probably between 5 and 17 September.

60/26 Armed . . . greyhoundes: It was apparently the French custom to arm their dogs against the tusks of the *sanglier*. I have not been able to discover any exact description of the armour employed for this purpose, but it may be noted that de Mersan, in his *Manuel du Chasseur* (Paris, 1821, p. 176) defines a 'chien armé' as being so named 'quand il est couvert pour l'attaque du sanglier'.

61/17 m^r Ratclyfe: Henry Radcliffe (1506?–1557) was the son of the 'auncyent gentilman' whom Cavendish mentions in his closing scene (below, 186/21). He became Earl of Sussex on 26 November 1542. For the importance of this passage in the dating of the autograph manuscript, see Introduction, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

61/20–1 (the boore . . . chaffed): The construction would be clearer if the parentheses were to enclose only 'beyng sore chaffed'.

62/5–6 a certyn boke: I have not been able to discover any reference to the book which Cavendish describes here. It would seem to have been written in French and published in France. It is not unlikely that the French 'boke' was actually a pamphlet, or perhaps even a broadside against the cardinal. Wolsey may have been able to have the entire edition suppressed and destroyed. We know that he had had agents on the Continent since the first printing of Tyndale's *Testament* in 1526 and that they were very effective. See Arber's Preface to Roy's *Rede Me*.

62/8 too mariages: For the proposed marriage between Henry VIII and Renée, see Pollard (p. 222) and Mackie (p. 323). The seventh article of the Treaty of Amiens (LP, IV, 3356) arranges for Mary's marriage to the Duke of Orleans. The subject had been agreed upon in the preceding April at Westminster, when it was arranged that if Francis himself, already engaged to Eleanor, the sister of the emperor, could not marry Henry's daughter, then she was to be given to the Duke.

62/13 at this present kyng of ffraunce: For Henry II, see above (43/16 and n.); since he died in 1559, this passage accords with Cavendish's statement that he finished his book on 24 June 1558.

62/19–20 the people . . . there: Hall (p. 728) tells us 'that for what cause the cardinal went into France no person knew but the king until his return' and reports some of the rumours that were afloat.

62/30 The secondary manuscripts begin again at this point with

'seditius ontreuthe, etc.' after having omitted everything from 61/19-20, 'a fynne boore spere'. See Appendix E.

63/25-6 the retourne of Crystopher Gunner: Probably 13 September; see above (58/27 and n.).

63/35 my lord Sandes: For Sandys, see above (26/8 and n.).

64/1 to Calice: Wolsey reached Calais and sailed from there on 24 September (LP, IV, 3341 and 3594). For the establishment of the mart, see above (46/15 and n.).

64/10-11 sir harre wyates howsse: Hall tells us that Wolsey came to the king at *Richmond* on 30 September (p. 732). Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, says that Wolsey went 'immediately' to the king at Richmond when he returned and also tells the story of how Anne demanded that she be present at the first interview between Henry and his minister. The king granted her wish, thus letting Wolsey surmise something of what had happened during his mission abroad (*Spanish Calendar*, 1527-9, p. 432). Cavendish seems to have confused the years 1527 and 1528 when he says that Wolsey returned to Henry at Wyatt's house, for it was in 1528 that the king visited the father of the poet (D.N.B.). Sir Henry Wyatt (d. 1537) stood high in the royal favour under Henry VII and Henry VIII. His house in Kent was Allington Castle, near Maidstone.

64/20 an assemble . . . starre Chamber: Wolsey's 'Oracion' on this occasion is reported by Hall (p. 733) in terms very close to those which Cavendish uses; but the chronicler says that Wolsey actually displayed a French seal printed in fine gold as if the league had already been confirmed.

64/32 the Duchye of Normandye: The Treaty of Amiens (Leonard, II, 277ff., for the text) does not mention the Duchy of Normandy, but it does stipulate that Francis is to pay Henry a sum of 50,000 écus annually. The freedom which English merchants were to enjoy in France is also noted in the Treaty (Leonard, II, 282; see below, 65/11ff.).

65/32 Thys greate ambassett: Francis I issued his commission to his ambassadors on 25 September (LP, IV, 3449); the envoys included Montmorency, the Grand Master; Du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne; Brinon, President of Rouen; and the Sieur d'Humieres, King's Chamberlain. The mission reached Dover on 13 October (LP, IV, 3494) and arrived in London on 20 October (Hall, p. 733). Cavendish's 'four score persons' is reduced by Hall to sixty.

66/5 wyne . . . mottons: Hall (pp. 733-4), who also says that the Frenchmen stayed at the bishop's palace, reports that 'the citezens of

London presented them with. v. fat oxen, xx. shepe, xii. Swannes, xii. Cranes, xii. Fesantz, iiiii. dosyn Partiches, xx. loaues of Suger, Comfettes & other spyce and waxe, and. viii. hoggesheads of wyne with many other thinges which I cannot reherse.'

66/7 the next Sunday: Since the 20th of October (the day the embassy arrived) fell on a Sunday, this would have been the 27th. Hall is probably correct when he says (p. 734) 'tewsday' the 22nd, although he gives the wrong month. Cavendish belies his own account when he writes (66/18–19) that the king 'sent incontynent vnto the frenche kyng the lyke order of Englonld'. We know (LP, IV, 3508) that the royal commission was dated 22 October, from Greenwich.

66/19 the Erle of wyltshire: A double error on Cavendish's part. Thomas Boleyn was not created Earl of Wiltshire until December 1529 and he was not sent on this mission. Its members were Viscount Lisle, John Taylor, Nicholas Carew, Anthony Browne, and Thomas Wriothesley. Francis I acknowledged receipt of the Garter on 10 November (LP, IV, 3565 and 3574). Cavendish repeats his mistake with regard to Boleyn's earldom at 87/1–2; see also his erroneous list of Boleyn's preferments (above, 29/13ff.).

66/21 Garter the harold: Thomas Wriothesley (d. 1534), Garter King of Arms from 1505 until his death and brother of William Wriothesley, the father of the first Earl of Southampton. Thomas Wriothesley, the first Earl, is mentioned later by Cavendish (below, 139/15).

66/26 a Solompne masse: 1 November 1527 (Hall, p. 734).

67/4 the Graund mr^r: Anne de Montmorency, first Duke of Montmorency (1493–1567). He had been taken prisoner at the Battle of Pavia with Francis I and was appointed Grand Master after the king's return from captivity in 1526.

67/25–6 my lord . . . Supper: Hall has a lengthy description of the banquet given by the king on 10 November, but does not mention Wolsey's. The cardinal's must have taken place between 1 November and 10 November.

69/13–14 all the rest . . . yomen: Apparently 'one chamber was better than another [with regard to its hangings] and all of them were furnished with tall yeomen'.

72/11–12 who entenyd . . . same: There is no extant evidence for the cardinal's feast outside of Cavendish's account. As far as can be judged from the materials available, it would seem that the king's banquet in the tiltyard at Greenwich (Hall, p. 735 and Gibson's

Revels Accounts, LP, IV, 3563) was designed to glorify Wolsey to the highest degree. Hall tells us that the play which was performed depicted the cardinal releasing the Pope from bondage, but it would seem that his source of information was somewhat faulty. According to the Revels Accounts MS. (quoted by Collier, I, 107), the 'enterlude' to which Cavendish (below, 73/5) refers 'was a Latin Moral, in which Luther and his wife were brought upon the stage, and in which ridicule was attempted to be thrown upon them, and the Reformers. It was acted by the children of St. Paul's School under the regulation of their master, John Rightwise, who was most likely the author of the piece presented.' According to Herford (p. 106) this was 'the earliest instance of an original performance in Latin in England—apart, of course, from those of early mysteries'. It would appear that Cavendish is in error when he says that it was in both Latin and French.

73/7-8 **this don . . . gentilwomen:** Cavendish speaks of three different companies of maskers (see 'an other maske', below, ll. 17 and 20) where Hall (p. 735) says there were four separate groups.

74/5 **to take . . . kyng:** According to Hall, the embassy left on 11 November. Montmorency wrote to Wolsey from Boulogne, telling him of their arrival there, on the 15th (LP, IV, 3580).

74/11-12 **the kynges . . . reward:** Robert Amadas the goldsmith presented his bill for a portion of this reward on 19 May 1528. Collier (I, 105) reprints the list of items, which amounted to almost 3,000 ounces of plate.

74/33-4 **the matter . . . Cardenall:** Wolsey was certainly aware of the king's desire for a divorce by the spring of 1527, if not before. Cavendish, who does not seem to have known of the cardinal's efforts on the king's behalf both before and during the French embassy, probably picked up the tale of Wolsey's 'perswasion vpon his knees' from his deathbed speech at Leicester Abbey (below, 179/16-17).

75/14-15 **Than assembled . . . westminster:** Wolsey called this consistory at his house on 17 May 1527 (LP, IV, 3140). Once more Cavendish confuses the order of events in his narrative.

75/22-4 **in Conclusion . . . Iugement:** The passage is difficult to construe. If 'Auncyent fathers of the lawes' (l. 23) refers, as is most likely, to the men 'of long expyrience' (above, ll. 13-14) and not to the patristic Church Fathers, then the best paraphrase would seem to run as follows: 'It seemed to me that by the time the session broke up ['by the departure'] the Counsellors were all of one mind [against

the king].' But Cavendish may be playing on the several meanings of 'departure', for which see the glossary.

75/32-3 all the vnyuersites: Henry's appeal to the Universities of Europe was not made until *after* the divorce trial of 1529.

76/4 And thervpon agreed: i.e. and thereupon it was agreed.

76/14-15 mony . . . Clarkes: Henry's agents often resorted to bribery in their efforts to win over the Universities to the king's side. See Hughes (I, 215-17) for a summary of their activities. Cavendish is right in the main when he says that the commissioners were 'euer in great estymacion'. Dr. John Stokesley, who, together with Richard Croke, was sent to Italy, later became Bishop of London. Croke himself was made sub-dean of Cardinal College, Oxford. Edward Foxe, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, was sent to Paris and Cranmer, who had originated the idea of appealing to the Universities, went to Germany. Only Reginald Pole, who was sent to Paris with Foxe, received no benefits from his role in the affair. He was shortly to become an exile and later returned to England as Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury under Mary.

76/26-7 Sent agayn . . . bysshoppes: There is no evidence to suggest that the long campaign which king and cardinal waged for the appointment of a papal legate who, with Wolsey, would decide on the validity of Henry's marriage to Catherine, was planned and executed on the advice of the bishops. Wolsey held no further convocation after that of May 1527, but instead directed his agents at Rome to press for the appointment of the legate. Clement VII finally granted the commission on 8 June 1528 (LP, IV, 4345).

77/8-9 ac vice tantum: i.e. *hac vice tantum* 'for this occasion only'; a special court as opposed to one which met at regular intervals.

77/9-10 Cardynall Campagious: Lorenzo Campeggio (1472-1539) had been in England in 1518 as legate de latere and had received the bishopric of Salisbury in 1524, not in 1518, as Cavendish states. Cavendish's reference to him as 'bysshope of Bathe' probably stems from the fact that, while in London, he occupied the house of John Clerk, who was then in possession of that see. Clerk was greatly disturbed when informed that Campeggio should stay at his house. His letter to Gardiner (LP, IV, 4753; see also 4754 and 4768) amply testifies to his irritation.

77/21 Long . . . desier: Campeggio reached Dover on 28 September. Hall (p. 753) describes his arrival as follows: '& so this Cardinal Campeius by long iorneyes came into England & much preparacion was made to receiue him triumphantly into London, but he was so

sore vexed with the goute that he refused all such solemnities, & desired hartely that he might without pompe be conueyed to his lodging for his more quiet & rest, & so the ix. day of October he came from saint Mary Ouereys by water to the bishop of Bathes place without Temple barre where he lodged the last tyme he was in England'. Campeggio's own account of his journey is in LP, IV, 4857.

78/1–2 **the kyng . . . Bridewell:** Cavendish passes over without comment the complex series of events that took place between the coming of Campeggio and the actual calling of the court for the trial in May 1529. The account of the trial that follows is compressed in Cavendish's usual manner: Catherine read a formal speech of protestation on 18 June; she appeared in the court again on 21 June and on that day made a speech like that with which Cavendish credits her. She then left the court immediately and Henry's reply followed her departure (Hughes, I, 187–8).

79/6–7 **Quia peccauimus . . . :** Ps. cv, 6 (*A.V.*, cvi, 6), 'Pecavimus cum patribus nostris: iniuste egimus, iniquitatem fecimus.'

79/16 **Doctor Stephens:** Stephen Gardiner (1497?–1555), at this time still Wolsey's secretary but soon (28 July 1529) to be taken into the king's service. He became Bishop of Winchester in November 1531. It was customary to refer to secretaries by their Christian names (see below, l. 25, 'doctor Peter' for Peter Vannes). Gardiner was not at the opening of the trial; he returned from Rome on the evening of 22 June and thereafter took a large part in the proceedings.

79/17 **oon Cooke:** The fullest account of this 'Cooke of Winchester' is contained in the preface to the Canterbury and York Society's edition of Wolsey's *Winchester Register*. He was John Cooke, a notary public of the Winchester diocese, who had been made registrar on 10 December 1524.

79/22 **Doctor Sampson:** Richard Sampson (d. 1554), a former chaplain of Wolsey's and his chancellor at Tournai from 1514 to 1517. He had declined Wolsey's offer to make him head of his household in 1519 and had instead gone into the king's service. One of Henry's chief agents during the divorce proceedings, he was rewarded with the bishopric of Chichester in June 1536.

79/23 **Doctor Bell:** John Bell (d. 1556), Dean of the Arches at the Lateran Council and afterwards chaplain to Henry VIII. He was constantly employed by the king on the divorce between 1527 and 1529. He became Bishop of Worcester on 11 August 1537.

79/25 **doctor Peter:** Peter Vannes (d. 1562), born at Lucca, Italy,

had come to England in 1513 as an assistant to Andrea Ammonio, Latin Secretary to the king. After Ammonio's death in 1517, he came under Wolsey's protection and was frequently employed on Italian diplomatic missions. The *Letters and Papers* do not give the date at which he became Latin Secretary to the king, but he held the post on into the reign of Elizabeth. The *D.N.B.* apparently follows Cavendish when it says that Vannes was a proctor at the divorce trial. That this is an error is shown by the official correspondence, which proves him to have been in Rome at this time. See his autograph letter of 10 July 1529 in Pocock (I, 259–61).

79/26 Doctor Tregonell: Sir John Tregonwell (d. 1565), an admiralty lawyer after receiving his D.C.L. from Oxford in 1522. Henry VIII soon took him into his service and he proved his usefulness on numerous occasions during the rest of the king's reign.

79/27–8 Doctor ffissher: Bishop John Fisher's (1450?–1535) role in the divorce proceedings is too well known to require much comment here. Long an opponent of Wolsey and Queen Catherine's confessor, he was the only bishop to oppose the divorce. Pope Paul III made him a cardinal on 20 May 1535, while he was in prison for denying the royal supremacy; this action probably infuriated Henry VIII into executing him at Tower Hill on 22 June of that year. The anonymous *Life of Fisher* (see Van Ortroy's edition) contains ample testimony to the lamentations which Cavendish notes as arising in Western Europe after his death.

79/28 Doctor Standysshe: Henry Standish (d. 1535), one of the king's spiritual counsellors, became Bishop of St. Asaph on 28 May 1518. He spoke against the divorce after Fisher on 29 June 1529, but was distrusted by the Queen. Later he assisted at Anne's coronation and, on 1 June 1535, formally renounced the Pope.

79/34–80/1 doctor Rydley: Robert Ridley (d. 1536), the uncle of Nicholas Ridley, the Protestant martyr under Mary. After receiving his D.D. from Cambridge in 1518, he held a number of London benefices and was generally esteemed as 'a man of learning and an opponent of the Reformation' (*D.N.B.*).

80/15 she sayd in effect: The words which Cavendish puts into the queen's mouth are remarkably close to those reported by Hall and William Forrest. See Appendices A and C. Hall (pp. 755–6) does not represent Catherine's speech as having occurred at the trial itself but instead assigns it to an interview which she had with the legates before the proceedings commenced. The text of her prepared

appeal, which she read three days before her speech, can be found in Pocock (I, 219–22).

80/34 **this xx^{ti} yeres:** Almost to the day. Catherine and Henry had been married on 11 June 1509; her speech was delivered on 21 June 1529.

81/4 **a true mayed:** Catherine continued to insist on this point throughout the divorce proceedings. Her statement, which was never denied by Henry, was in direct contradiction to many of the depositions that were made during the trial (LP, IV, 5774 for the depositions). Campeggio notes the queen's insistence on her virginity in a letter of 16 June (LP, IV, 5681).

81/15 **fferdynando:** Ferdinand of Aragon (d. 1516).

81/28 **ffor ye . . . Answere:** The legates accepted the queen's protest on Friday, 18 June, but ruled, on the 21st, that it was invalid and that they had legal jurisdiction in the case. On 23 June Henry wrote that the queen, 'Being thrice summoned to appear without effect . . . was pronounced contumax, and cited to appear on Friday next' (LP, IV, 5707). But Catherine never returned to the court.

82/11 **Generall receyvour:** The *O.E.D.* lists the title 'general-receiver' as a variant of 'receiver-general' and defines it as 'a chief receiver, esp. of public revenues'. But Griffith here seems to have functioned as a sort of 'master of ceremonies' as well as treasurer for the Queen.

82/11–12 **m^r Griffithe:** Mattingly (pp. 47–9 and 287) identifies 'Griffithe' with Griffith ap Rhys, the son of Rice ap Thomas (d. 1527); but this Griffith, who had been an attendant upon Prince Arthur, was presumably dead by 1527 when Rice ap Thomas's grandson inherited the family estates (cf. *Cambrian Register*, 3 vols., London, 1796, I, 49–144). The *Letters and Papers* (IV, 2972 and 6121) show that Cavendish's 'Griffithe' was rather a certain Griffin or Griffith Richardes, but I have been unable to obtain any further information about Catherine's receiver-general.

82/22–3 **sayd thus in effect:** Cavendish's words closely resemble those reported by Hall both at the trial and at the Bridewell assembly of 8 November 1528, when Henry had justified himself to 'his nobilitie, Judges, and counsayloris with divers other persons' (Hall, p. 754). Catherine had issued a formal protest against the proceedings on 7 November (Hughes, I, 180). See Appendix C.

82/29–30 Supply a comma after 'condicyons' and 'they' before 'woll'.

82/33-4 for I . . . herein: Mackie (p. 322) cites a long list of contemporary statements to illustrate this point. He concludes that 'contemporary opinion must have believed that Wolsey was the author of the divorce'. Cavendish's own belief that the cardinal was innocent of the charge was perhaps based on the king's public support of his minister during this scene.

83/5 the Bysshope of Biean: The Bishop of Bayonne at this time was Jean du Bellay (d. 1560), to whom Joachim du Bellay, his second cousin, dedicated *La Défense et Illustration de la Langue Française* in 1549. Du Bellay was French ambassador to Henry VIII, but Cavendish is in error when he refers to him as heading the embassy of 1527. The marriage negotiations of that spring were conducted by Gabriel de Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes. Henry's explanation of his 'scruples' is branded as a lie by Hughes (I, 157). Mackie, on the other hand, considers it 'quite conceivable'. There is no mention of any objection in the minute account of the embassy which was kept by its secretary (LP, IV, pp. 1397–1415).

83/13 prynce Arthure: Catherine and Arthur were married on 14 November 1501. Arthur died five months later on 2 April 1502.

84/7 my lord of lyncolne: John Longland (1473–1547) became Bishop of Lincoln on 5 May 1521. Both Harpsfield (p. 175, following Roper, p. 31) and the author of the *Life of Fisher* (ed. Van Ortroy, X, 293) implicate Longland in the early plans for the divorce. Henry's own account of the matter, as recorded here by Cavendish, seems to be substantially correct. It is perhaps true that Wolsey tried to force Longland to further the king's wishes, but the bishop himself denied that this was so and later affirmed to his chaplain that he sorely repented having given his consent in the matter (Van Ortroy, X, 291–2, n. 2).

84/13-14 writyng . . . seales: Van Ortroy (X, 323, note 1) cites a document from Rymer's *Foedera* (ed. Holmes, t. VI, p. i, p. 119) of 1 July 1529 in which the Bishops of London, Rochester, Carlisle, Ely, St. Asaph, Lincoln, Bath, and Canterbury all recognize that the king has consulted them and certify their consent to the divorce proceedings. This would seem to place the date of the scene here described by Cavendish after 1 July and not before it. Fisher's denial that he had subscribed to such a document is paralleled by a manuscript in the Record Office (LP, IV, 5729) which, according to the Calendar, contains 'a very bitter reply to Fisher, who has corrected some of the King's statements in his own hand in the margin: among others, that he had approved of the reasons for the King's

divorce; to which he answers, "Non haec dixi: Certe Cardinalis voluit ut haec dixisset."

84/18 **no hathe / q^d the kyng:** The secondary manuscripts all corrupt this passage to 'No, ha! q^d the king,' thus indicating that their scribes did not understand the original. Singer (I, 157) has the illogical 'No! ha' the!' This type of phrase was apparently not uncommon in the sixteenth century. *John Bon and Mast Person* (1548–1550, p. 3) has 'No dyd' and John Bridges's *Sermon at Paul's Cross* (1571, p. 128) has 'No is'. I owe these references to Professor F. P. Wilson of the University of Oxford. Note also Henry's somewhat similar 'yea can' (below, 184/13). Further examples are cited by W. Franz, *Die Sprache Shakespeares* (4th ed., Halle 1939) § 409.

85/8 **The next court day:** Apparently 29 June when, according to a letter of Campeggio (LP, IV, 5732), Fisher appeared and stated that the marriage could not be dissolved by any power, human or divine.

85/19 **to be very doughtfull:** i.e. were very doubtful.

85/24–5 **Q^d deus . . . separat:** Matthew xix, 6; Mark x, 9.

86/9 and 13–14 **this honorable persons, this abhomynable presumpcyons:** Cf. above (80/34) 'this xxth yeres'. On the form 'this' for 'these' see *O.E.D.* s.v. *These*.

86/25 **the bysshope of Carelyle:** John Kite (d. 1537), Bishop of Carlisle from 12 July 1521. He seems to have been a good friend of Wolsey and was certainly indebted to him for some of his promotions.

87/5–7 **that he . . . Bridwell:** There is no other evidence for this visit of the cardinals to the queen, but it is certain that they were continually endeavouring to persuade her to comply with the king's wishes. The scene is somewhat similar to that described by Hall (pp. 755–6) as having occurred in the previous November. Cavendish's reference to Thomas Boleyn as 'my lord of wyltchere' (above, ll. 1–2) is anachronistic (see above, 66/19 and n.).

87/19–20 **that was . . . matter:** i.e. of what was likely to ensue with regard to this matter.

89/8 **At w^{che} day:** Campeggio prorogued the court until 1 October on 23 July. The news had not yet reached England that on 15 July the Pope had revoked the case to Rome (LP, IV, 5777, 5780, and 5791). The legate's postponement was in accordance with the practice of the Roman Curia, which did not sit from the end of July until October, but the point of his action was not missed by the king.

The general tenor of Campeggio's speech certainly reflects his attitude toward the case.

90/24 **the Duke of Suffolk:** Hall (p. 758) reports this scene as follows: 'Charles Duke of Suffolke, seyng the delay, gaue a great clappe on the Table with his hande and said: by the Masse, now I see that the olde saied sawe is true, that there was neuer Legate nor Cardynall, that did good in Englande and with that saiying all the Temporall Lordes departed to the King.' Cavendish is the sole authority for Wolsey's reply to the Duke and one may doubt, with Pollard (pp. 109 and 234) that any answer was actually given. Wolsey's reference to an occasion when Suffolk had owed his life to him would seem to allude to the Duke's brief period of disfavour after his marriage to Henry's sister in 1515. Fiddes (p. 95) attempted to show that Wolsey's intercession with the king had saved the Duke's life, but the letters which he cites are not completely convincing.

91/8 **the kynges Commyssioner:** Wolsey's words can be taken as an ironic allusion to Suffolk's conduct in 1515, when he had been sent 'as the kynges Commyssioner in a fforayn Region' to bring Mary, Henry VIII's sister, back to England after the death of Louis XII. On that occasion Suffolk had not waited for any word from Henry but had instead proceeded impetuously into a marriage of which the king disapproved (see above, 50/17-18 and n.).

91/29 **Thys matter contynued, etc.:** Cavendish's description of the sequence of events between the prorogation of the court and the visit of the two cardinals to the king at Grafton is extremely confused. Most of the happenings which he narrates had occurred before the commencement of the trial; thus the Pope did not 'take delyberacion in respeight of Iugeme', but instead, after revoking the case to Rome, cited Henry to appear there (Hughes, I, 218); Cavendish's reference to 'Bartholmewetyd next' (24 August) is rendered meaningless by the fact that the papal courts would not have opened in any event until October; Gardiner was not sent on any new embassy to the Pope (he had been in Rome from January to June 1529) but instead became the king's secretary and was with him for the rest of the year.

92/15-16 **the grece season:** The 'grece season' for deer was the time when the harts were fat and fit for killing. *O.E.D.* (s.v. Grease 1.b.) says that this was from August until the middle of October.

92/20-1 **that the Cardynall . . . Grafton:** Wolsey had not been invited to the court during the royal progresses which followed upon

the termination of the trial. Campeggio had a good deal of difficulty securing permission for him to attend at Grafton on 19 September, when the Italian legate took his farewell of the king.

92/31–2 yet for as myche . . . effect: Cavendish seems to imply that Henry could not treat Campeggio as he did Wolsey because the Italian cardinal was a foreigner and thus was entitled to special considerations of hospitality. Note the ‘hyme oonly’ of l. 34 below.

93/3 no lodgyng . . . Court: Chapuys, the Spanish ambassador, whose account of this meeting between the cardinals and Henry confirms Cavendish’s in many details, says that it was the Duke of Suffolk who took care to provide that Wolsey should not be lodged in the palace (*Spanish Calendar*, 1529–30, pp. 253 and 257).

93/4 Sir herre Norreys: Henry Norris (d. 1536) had come to the court as a youth and was soon intimate with the king. He took sides against Wolsey at an early date and was looked upon as one of Anne’s adherents. His devotion to her was proved in 1536 when he suffered death as a traitor rather than confess that he had had intercourse with her. It is Norris who brings the king’s ring to Wolsey after his fall (below, 101/30ff.); he also figures as one of the mourners in Cavendish’s poems (II, 25).

94/9 I hard . . . : Pollard (pp. 237–8) conjectures that Henry here confronted Wolsey with documentary proof of the cardinal’s private dealings with Francis I, Campeggio, and the Pope. Such evidence could perhaps have been provided by Gardiner at his return from Rome on 22 June. Wolsey’s apparent pacification of the king at this juncture is scarcely borne out by the events of the next month.

94/16–17 the kyng . . . Anne Boleyn: Cavendish is the only authority for the ensuing conversation between the king and Anne, but there can be little doubt of the enmity that existed between her and the cardinal at this date.

94/23 my lord of Norfolk: Thomas Howard II, Earl of Surrey and third Duke of Norfolk (1473–1554), whose father had opposed Wolsey in the council when the cardinal-to-be first rose to power. He was Anne’s uncle and the leader of the opposition to Wolsey at the court. Although his power was great immediately after the cardinal’s fall, he never achieved the complete control at which he aimed and narrowly escaped death for treason during the last days of the king’s reign when his son, the poet Surrey, was executed.

94/27 Wynchester: For Wolsey’s acquisition of Winchester, see above (17/33 and n.).

95/8 a lone: Cavendish's statement must refer to the loan of 1522, which had not been repaid in 1529, when the Parliament reluctantly turned it into a gift. See Pollard, pp. 132–3.

96/8 Eston: Cavendish's detail is confirmed by a letter from Thomas Alford, a former servant of Wolsey's, to Cromwell on 23 September 1529 (LP, IV, 5953). Alford writes that both 'my Lord and the Legate returned to their lodgings at Empson's Place' on the evening of 19 September. It would seem, however, that Campeggio actually stayed at the palace, as Cavendish states (see Pollard's note, p. 238). This Empson was Thomas Empson, the eldest son of Sir Richard (above, 11/25 and n.). His father's estates had been restored to him by an act of 4 Henry VIII and he seems to have been in favour with the king.

96/15 Doctor Stephyns: Wolsey, if not Cavendish, must have known that Gardiner had returned from Rome on 22 June, for several letters passed between them during the summer (Pollard, pp. 234–7). It may be true, however, that the cardinal suspected Gardiner of having betrayed him to the king. On 18 September the French ambassador Du Bellay wrote that Wolsey had been betrayed by some of his protégés, a statement that Pollard takes as 'certainly' referring to Gardiner (LP, IV, 5945).

96/32 The next mornynge: Alford's letter (LP, IV, 5953) reports that Wolsey was in council with the king on the morning of 20 September and that the king went hunting in the afternoon. Hall's account (p. 759) agrees exactly with Cavendish's except for the references to Anne Boleyn. On 17 October Du Bellay wrote to Montmorency describing the cardinal's state just before his fall. He noted that 'the worst of his evil is that Mademoiselle de Boulen has made her friend promise that he will never give him a hearing, for she thinks he could not help having pity upon him' (LP, IV, 6011).

97/17 Campagious . . . Rome: The cardinal left London on 5 October (LP, IV, 5995) but was held up at Dover, as Du Bellay wrote, 'on pretence of want of ships . . . for fear he carries off the treasure of the cardinal of York' (LP, IV, 6003). Campeggio's baggage was searched at Dover (not Calais as Cavendish, below, l. 24, has it), according to Hall (p. 759) 'to se what letters the Cardinal of Yorke had sent to the court of Rome'. The real purpose behind the search seems to have been Henry's desire to get hold of the decretal commission that Campeggio had brought to England but had long since destroyed. The whole story of this bull is fraught with mystery, but it seems to have granted full power in the divorce question to

Campeggio and Wolsey, thus enabling them to proceed to a decision. But Clement VII had stipulated to Campeggio that the decretal was to be shown to the king and Wolsey and then destroyed. For a full account of the matter, see Hughes (I, 176). Campeggio did not sail until 26 October.

97/17-18 **the kynges reward:** The reward which Campeggio received from the king was a considerable one, as is shown by the 'Treasurer of the Chamber's accounts (LP, V, pp. 303-26) of the expenses necessitated by his departure. His secretary, 'Mr. Florian', received £112 10s. in September 1529 (p. 315); there are three separate payments to Robert Amadas, the goldsmith, 'for plate delivered to Campeggio.' In October the amount was £39 18s. 0½d.; on 9 November Amadas received £200; and on 13 December he was paid an apparently final sum of £169 15s. 6d. (pp. 315-16).

97/30 **terme began:** Michaelmas Term began on 9 October in 1529.

97/34-98/1 **expectyng . . . Norfolk:** Cavendish seems to have compressed two weeks into one at this point in his narrative. The Dukes came for the seal on 17 October, not 11 October; when refused, they returned on the 18th. Dr. Taylor, the Master of the Rolls, delivered the seal to the king on 20 October at Windsor. Wolsey had ample reason to 'expect' the arrival of the Dukes, for on 9 October a bill of indictment for praemunire had been presented in the king's bench.

98/4 **Assher:** Wolsey had begged this palace at Esher from Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, in 1519 and had officially acquired it for himself when he succeeded Foxe in 1528.

98/32 **to take accompte:** The inventory taken here is calendared in the *Letters and Papers* (IV, pp. 2763-70).

100/1 **sir w^m Gascoyn:** Sir William Gascoigne, the grandfather of the Elizabethan poet and the founder of the family fortunes. He had been Sheriff of Bedfordshire in 1507, 1514, and 1516 and was knighted by Henry VIII. After Wolsey's fall Gascoigne retired to his estate at Cardington, but he was soon back in service again in the household of John Neville, Lord Latimer. See C. T. Prouty's *George Gascoigne* (New York, 1942), pp. 9-10.

100/20 **And toke his barge:** Hall (p. 760) tells us that Wolsey 'toke his barge, and went to Putney by Water, and there toke his horse and rode to Asher, where he remaigned til Lent after' but he does not give the date of the removal. Chapuys (*Spanish Calendar*, 1529-30, p. 304) writes on 25 October that a ring had been sent to

the cardinal; his letter presumably refers to Norris's message (below, 101 ff.).

103/28–9 **I ame . . . chapleyn:** The sense is clearer if we omit Cavendish's comma after 'obedyent'. Wolsey had used words very similar to these in a letter to the king which he wrote about 8–9 October (*State Papers*, I, 347). He there signed himself 'your most prostrate poor chaplain, T. Car^{lls} Ebor., miserimus.'

104/4–5 **this poore foole:** A gloss in one of the secondary manuscripts (Douce 363, fol. 72) reports that the 'fole' was called master Williames: owtherwise called Patch. geven to y^e kinge from the Cardinall'. A series of anecdotes about Wolsey's fool will be found in John Doran's *The History of Court Fools* (London, 1858), pp. 132–4 and 140–1; he turns up again in Rowley's chronicle play (1605) *When You See Me You Know Me*. Patch is mentioned as in the king's service on 22 January 1530 (Nicolas, *Privy Purse Expences*, p. 19; LP, V, pp. 748, 750, and 752).

104/9 **fired:** Most of the secondary manuscripts read 'for the poor fool took on like a tyrant', thus missing the significance of Cavendish's metaphor.

104/22 **the bysshope of Carlylle, sir Thomas Arundell:** For the bishop see above (86/25 and n.). Sir Thomas Arundell (d. 1552) had, like the Earl of Northumberland, been brought up in Wolsey's household and was one of the cardinal's gentlemen of the privy chamber. Cavendish represents him later in his poems (II, 125).

104/28 **master Cromwell:** The rise of Thomas Cromwell (1485?–1540) in the royal favour after the fall of Wolsey is too well known to require comment here. Good accounts can be found in Merriman's *Life and Letters* and in Hughes (I, 223–7).

105/3 **my onhappie Adventure:** A letter to Cromwell from Stephen Vaughan, his agent at Antwerp, of 30 October 1529 informs him that he is more hated for his master's sake than for any wrong that he has done to anyone (Merriman, I, 65). Cromwell's role in the suppression of monasteries, the revenues of which were to build Wolsey's colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, had a great deal to do with the popular disfavour in which he was held at this time.

105/9–10 **all thynges . . . taken:** Cromwell voices his belief that the right or wrong of an action is dependent not upon the action itself but upon the interpretation that people place upon it. He fears 'guilt by association'. For 'taken' cf. the *O.E.D.* quotation (s.v. *Take* v. 42) from Latimer (1553): 'There is a common saying amongst

us . . . Everything is (say they) as it is taken, which indeed is not so: for every thing is as it is, howsoever it be taken.'

105/12-14 **I neuer . . . lyvynge:** Certainly a gross misrepresentation on Cromwell's part. Wolsey had made him collector of revenues for York as early as 1514 and by 1527 almost all of the cardinal's legal business was passing through his hands. Cromwell repeats this statement at 109/23-5.

105/16 **make or marre:** Cavendish later notes this phrase as characteristic of Cromwell (below, 110/8). William Forrest's *Governance of Princes* (see Macray's *Grisild the Second*, pp. 182-3) has a somewhat puzzling passage on what Forrest calls the 'game' of making and marring:

The world is chaunged from that it hathe beene,
Not to the bettre but to the warrsse farre;
More for a penye wee haue before seene
Then nowe for fowre pense, whoe liste to compare:
This suethe the game called *Makinge or Marre*;
Unto the riche it makethe a great deale.
But muche it marrethe to the Commune weale.

Macray (p. 194) notes that such a game was actually prohibited by statute (2 and 3 Philip and Mary, 1555, cap. 9), but can give no description of it. The meaning of Cromwell's 'make or mar' is at any rate obvious.

105/24 **doctor Marshall:** Wolsey wrote from Esher (LP, IV, 6261, no date) that he had sent Dr. Marshall to the king with his seal to give up some York benefices and collate others. This was evidently Cuthbert Marshall (d. 1550), who took his D.D. at Cambridge in 1523 and was prebendary of York from 1526 to 1550. See Cooper, *Athenae*, I, 97 and 538.

106/28 **yor^r Idell chapleyns:** In Cavendish's poems (II, 18) Wolsey speaks of his

. . . vicious chapleyns walking by my syde,
Voyde of all vertue, fullfilled with pryd,
Which hath caused me, by report of suche fame,
For ther myslyvynge to have an yll name.

108/32-3 **if the kyng . . . me:** Here and at 109/14-15 Cavendish seems to represent Wolsey as expecting to be restored to all his dignities. Henry took the cardinal under his protection on 18 November after he had made his submission to the king. Wolsey did not

Wolsey. He sat in Parliament in 1529 as a member for Ipswich (LP, IV, 6043). Cromwell had referred to him as 'my friend' in the will which he made earlier in that year. Rush was not a knight at this time but received the honour later (1 June 1533) at Anne's coronation. His son, to whom Cavendish refers here, was Arthur Rush of Sudborne, Suffolk; he is not listed as a member of this Parliament.

113/10 a byll of Articles: These forty-four articles are discussed in detail by Pollard (pp. 258–63). 'They did not in fact condemn Wolsey, nor did they ask that he should be tried for treason; they merely request that "he be so provided for, that he never have any power, jurisdiction, or authority hereafter to trouble, vex, and impoverish the commonwealth".'

113/15 to endyght hym: Either Cavendish's original comprehension of events was extremely limited on this point or his later recollections were much more hazy than usual. The bill of indictment for praemunire had been presented in the king's bench on 9 October and on the 22nd Wolsey signed a complete acknowledgement of his guilt. The statute of praemunire under which the cardinal was indicted (16 Richard II, c. 5) is fully discussed by Pollard (pp. 245–51). Its terms provided for the confiscation of the defendant's property.

113/17 his Colleges: Wolsey continually deplored the dissolution of his colleges after his fall, but, as Pollard (p. 326) notes, it was the cardinal's own possessiveness which placed them in the king's hands. He had neglected to set them up as corporate entities and had retained absolute control of them for himself. Thus, as his own 'private property', they fell to the crown at his indictment.

113/25 the kynges lycence: Wolsey was not indicted for being legate, but for what he had done while he held that office. No one has ever produced the king's licence, but certainly it could not have covered the breaches of common law with which he was charged.

113/29–31 I ame content . . . indyghtment: Since Wolsey's submission occurred on 22 October, the visit of the judges, to whom Cavendish represents him as saying these words, must have occurred about the 20th or 21st. A further bill of indictment had been presented on the 20th. The cardinal surrendered to the king not only because he feared what might happen to him if the bishops themselves were to judge him but also because an indictment in the king's bench, unlike an act of attainder, could not issue in the death penalty (Pollard, p. 244).

114/15 the Duke of Norfolk: There is no evidence other than

Cavendish's for Norfolk's visit to the cardinal. Its dating presents a problem. We know that the Duke came to Wolsey on the same day that 'master Shelley' arrived to get Wolsey's signature on the transference of York Place to the king (below, 116/34ff.). If the document was the actual deed of recovery against Wolsey (printed by Fiddes, *Collections*, p. 224) then we should probably place Shelley's visit as occurring shortly before its date (7 February 1530). Cavendish (below, 119/9) says that Shelley called a clerk 'who wrott my lord recognysaunce'. It thus appears that the judge's visit referred to an earlier acknowledgement made by Wolsey and not to the actual transfer of February. Henry had taken over York Place as his own by 7 November 1529 (LP, V, p. 316). It seems most likely that Norfolk's visit occurred in November, rather than in February, for by the latter date he was violently expressing his wish that Wolsey should move North to York (below, 127/5-6 and n.).

114/17-18 **was commyng . . . hand**: Elliptical: was coming and was [now] even at hand.

115/24-5 **to bere . . . lion**: After the Battle of Flodden in 1513, the Earl of Surrey (father of Cavendish's Norfolk) was granted an augmentation to his arms which consisted of a red lion, symbolizing Scotland, cut in half and pierced by an arrow. But Wolsey's words probably allude to the fact that Norfolk was entitled to quarter his arms with those of Mowbray (a silver lion on a red field) and Segrave (a silver lion with a crown of gold on a black field). The Duke's retainers thus wore a device which pictured a white lion tearing a red one. The bloody crest that forms the title page of Roy's *Rede Me* (pp. 21-2) is described in the following verses:

Of the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde
Borne vp betwene two angels off Sathan.
The sixe blouddy axes in a bare feld
Sheweth the cruele of the red man/
whiche hathe devoured the beautifull swan.
Mortall enmy vnto the whyte Lion/
Carter of Yorche/ the vyle butchers sonne.

The red, of course, refers to Wolsey's robes as a cardinal; the swan is the Duke of Buckingham (executed in 1521); and the 'white lion' represents Norfolk. See Wordsworth's note (pp. 598-9).

115/33-4 **Parcere prostratis, etc.**: I have not been able to locate the exact source of this distich. The first half-line may well echo Virgil's famous 'Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos' in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* and the idea of the lion as the king of beasts who

shows mercy to his victims is a classical commonplace. Seneca's *De Clementia* (Loeb edition of the *Moral Essays*, I, 372 and 422) and the following passage from Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, VIII, 19) may be cited as typical: 'Leoni tantum ex feris clementia in supplices; prostratis parcit: et ubi saevit, in viros potius, quam in foeminas fremit, in infantes non nisi magna fame.' Josse Clichtove, a contemporary of Wolsey (see below, 160/6–7 and n.), speaks of the lion as a type of nobility in his *De vera nobilitate* (Paris 1520): 'Enimuero leones tantum ex feris clementia vtuntur in supplices, prostratis parcunt, vt eleganti carmine sic notat Ouidius in tertio libro tristium. Quo quisque est maior, magis est placabilis irae. Et faciles motus mens generosa capit. Corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse leoni: Pugna suum finem, cum iacet hostis, habet.' (Sig. C₅; Clichtove is quoting *Tristia*, III, v, 31–4). In *The Thistle and the Rose* (1503) Dunbar says of the lion 'Quois noble yre is proceir [i.e. parcere] prostratis' (l. 119), where the allusion is to the Scottish king's armorial bearings. Finally, it may be noted that Skelton seems to refer to this distich in his 'Elegy on the Earl of Northumberland' (d. 1489; see *Works*, I, 16): 'And, as the lyone, whiche is of bestes kynge, Unto thy subiectes be curteis and benygne.' Northumberland's crest contained a blue lion, just as that of Norfolk quartered a white one.

116/6 **auctory**: Either a slip here (and at 157/1) by Cavendish for his more normal 'auctoryte' or a genuine shortened form of the latter word.

116/7–8 **A Strawe . . . legacye**: 'Norfolk was here expressing at once the respect which conservatives felt for the mediaeval catholic church and the prejudice they entertained against the intruding autocracy involved in the legatine powers which Wolsey had acquired' (Pollard, p. 165).

116/28–9 **at thys tyme . . . seruyce**: Sadler's letter to Cromwell of 1 November 1529 (Merriman, I, 68) reports that 'Other newes at the courte I here none but dyuers of my lorde his seruauntes as Mr. Aluarde Mr. Sayntclere Mr. Forest, Humfrey lisle Mr. Mores & other ben elect and sworne the king his seruauntes.' But Sadler does not mention what the general attitude was with regard to the servants' transfer of allegiances.

116/34 **mr Shelley**: For the date of Shelley's visit to Wolsey, see above (114/15 and n.). Sir William Shelley (1480?–1549) had been made a serjeant and then a judge by Henry VIII. He was in the Parliament of 1529 and later, although reported to have been hostile

to the Reformation, took part in the most important state trials. Among the many appeals which Wolsey wrote after his fall there is one of August 1530 (LP, IV, 6577) to Shelley in which the cardinal beseeches his clemency 'in consideration of their old friendship' with regard to the status of Cardinal College, Oxford.

117/8-9 **I haue . . . messwage:** Norfolk was perhaps embarrassed by his own involvement in the York Place transaction. On 11 February 1530 he appeared in Chancery with More and others to acknowledge the deed of recovery against Wolsey (LP, IV, 6210).

118/10 **the Court of concyence:** Chancery formerly consisted of two courts, one of common law and the other of equity. 'The second proceeded upon rules of equity and conscience, moderating the rigour of the common law, and giving relief in cases where there was no remedy in the common-law courts' (*O.E.D.*, s.v. *Chancery*, 2).

118/20-1 **And . . . employed:** i.e. 'and [considering] that it is to be employed'.

119/5 **dischargethe:** i.e. 'discharge,' third person for first person, the only instance in the *Life*.

119/16 **the great affecon:** This was Chapuys' impression when he wrote on 6 February that it would be easy to reinstate the cardinal if it were not for Anne Boleyn, 'for it is thought the King has no ill-will to the Cardinal. His only wish is for the Cardinal's goods' (LP, IV, 6199).

119/18-19 **to geve . . . chafe:** A letter from Wolsey to Cromwell (LP, IV, 6226; no date, but placed under February 1530) contains several statements of the cardinal's vexation. Wolsey may be alluding to the petty irritations that Cavendish describes when he says that 'Thys dayly alteration [keeps] me in suche agony that I had lever be ded [than alive]'.

119/24 **in daynger . . . estates:** Chapuys, writing of possible French attempts to reinstate the cardinal, says that 'were the affair properly conducted, the result would be greatly to their advantage; but if they fail in the attempt, as seems probable, it will only serve to irritate those now in power and at the head of affairs, whose very lives are at stake' (Pollard, p. 270).

120/8 **At Cristmas . . . syke:** Apparently a little after Christmas itself. Early in January Wolsey speaks of 'being entered into the passion of dropsy' (LP, IV, 6224; misdated under 17 February, see Pollard, p. 267, n. 4) and on 19 January Doctor Augustine (for whom see below, 151/13-14 and n.) wrote to Cromwell asking that

Drs. Butts and Cromer be sent. They were to bring leeches and some vomitive electuary and 'No time must be lost'.

120/10 **doctor buttes**: Sir William Butts (d. 1545) who took his M.D. at Cambridge in 1518 and was court physician from 1524 until his death.

120/21 **xx M^l ii**: Cavendish makes Henry use the same phrase after Wolsey's death (below, 184/10).

121/1 **And than . . . Anne**: Chapuys reported on 6 February (LP, IV, 6199) that 'a cousin of the Cardinal's physician told me that the lady had sent to visit him during his sickness, and represented herself as favouring him with the King. This is difficult to be believed, considering the hatred she has always borne him.'

121/11 **Doctor Clement**: John Clement (d. 1572), the friend of Thomas More and tutor to his children, who married Margaret Giggs, More's adopted daughter, in 1530. He was later (1544) president of the College of Physicians.

121/11 **Doctor Wotten**: Edward Wotten (1492–1555) was a member of the College of Physicians from 1528 on but does not appear to have attended Henry VIII. He is said to have been the first English physician to take up the systematic study of natural history and his *de Differentiis Animalium* (Paris, 1552) gained him a European reputation.

121/11 **doctor Cromer**: The fullest account of Dr. Walter Cromer (d. 1547) is contained in an article by R. R. James in *The Practitioner*, cxxxiii (1934), 200–7. Cromer became King's Physician in Ordinary to Henry VIII in 1539–40. He had married Alice Whethill, by whom he had four children, in 1528. A list of his medicines for Henry VIII is contained in MS. Sloane 1047, from which it was reprinted by Furnivall for the E.E.T.S. (E.S. 53, 1888). I owe this information to Mr. W. H. Challen.

121/34 **to debate his dessease**: The cardinal would never let himself be outshone, not even in medical matters. See his own diagnosis of the dysentery that killed him (below, 178/22ff.). In 1519 More had written to the cardinal advising him not to physic himself so much (LP, III, i, p. 154).

122/14 **Candyllmas**: 2 February 1530. Cavendish's description of the 'stuff' which the king sent Wolsey may refer to the gifts of 14 February (LP, IV, 6214; above 112/8–10 and n.). It is possible, of course, that Henry sent two consignments of goods to Esher, one 'shortly after' or 'three or four weeks after' the cardinal arrived there and the other in February; if so, the first present has not been recorded in the *Letters and Papers*.

122/16 **beddes, etc.**: The schedule of 14 February specifically mentions 'Plate, Dyvers Apparell of Houshold, as Hangyngs, Beddyng, Napry, and Implements of the Kytchen'.

123/4 **ffor he . . . Assher**: It must have been about this time that Wolsey wrote to Gardiner asking his aid in removing from Asher and complaining of the damp and moist air there (LP, IV, 6224, no date). On 1 February Wolsey wrote to Cromwell saying that he could not leave for Richmond as yet (*State Papers*, I, 361). It may be supposed that his removal occurred shortly after this date; this would agree with Cavendish's 'shortly after Candylmas' (below, 127/20).

123/26-7 **ffor the kyng . . . hampton Court**: Pollard (p. 325, n. 2) interprets this passage as meaning that the 'exchange' occurred after Wolsey's fall, but Cavendish's description of the cardinal's repairs would make it appear that it took place before his indictment. Wolsey had 'given' Hampton Court to the king in 1524-5, but had continued to occupy it afterwards.

124/1-2 **lest his . . . at lengthe**: 'Lest his nigh-being to the king might cause the king'.

124/15 **the Duke of Norfolk**: See the Duke's words to Wolsey at Grafton before his fall (above, 94/27ff.).

124/33-4 **Movyd . . . wynchester**: Pollard (p. 273, n. 2) quotes Holmes's text for this passage where the reading is 'a pension of four thousand marks'. That the pension was actually 1,000 marks is shown by the treasurer's accounts (Pollard, *ibid.*, referring to LP, V, p. 318) and by Cavendish himself (below, 131/23). The recipients of these pensions are all mentioned elsewhere in the *Life*. The *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (Rolls of Parliament to supply the deficiencies in the Journals of the House of Lords, clxxxviii) record the passing in 1531 of 'An Act concerning certain Annuities granted out of the Bishopric of Winchester', which insured the possessors of grants from Wolsey against any loss of their revenues. The cardinal's writs are listed as follows: on 20 February 1530, £100 to Norfolk, who was also made High Steward of the bishopric's rents; £200 to George Boleyn; £40 each to Sir William Fitzwilliam, Henry Guildford, and Sir John Russell; two grants to Henry Norris, one of £100 and the other of £20; on 5 June 1530, 100 marks to Lord Sandys. The pensions amount to about £610 per year. Winchester, in 1535, had lands valued at £3,820 per year. Only George Boleyn received as much as 300 marks (below, 125/9) and Cavendish appears to be incorrect when he says (below, 131/29) that 'hys [Wolsey's] part was the lest'.

127/5-6 **teare . . . teathe**: Norfolk's words, as Wordsworth

(p. 610) noted, probably allude to the lion that he displayed on his crest (see above, 115/24–5 and n.). They are strikingly confirmed in one of Chapuys' dispatches (LP, IV, 6199; 6 February 1530), in which the ambassador reports a conversation between Norfolk and Sir John Russell. Norfolk, so runs the letter, asked Russell if he thought that the cardinal would return to power. When Russell replied that this was not unlikely, the Duke 'began to swear very loudly that, rather than suffer this, he would eat him up alive'.

127/20 **Candylmas:** See above (123/4). In 1530 Lent began on 2 March.

127/23 **a certyn tale:** The 'dun cow' prophecy which Cavendish relates here may be alluded to in the last stanza of 'The descripcion of the armes' in Roy's *Rede Me* (p. 20):

The cloubbe signifieth playne hys tiranny
 Covered over with a Cardinals hatt
 Wherin shalbe fulfilled the prophecy
 Aryse vp Iacke and put on thy salatt/
 For the tyme is come of bagge and walatt
 The temporall cheualry thus throwen downe
 Wherby prest take hede and beware thy croune.

Wordsworth (p. 612) suggested that the lines on the dun cow may explain the fact that, when Anne Boleyn was made Marchioness of Pembroke, her family arms were not quartered on her new crest. Henry, who presumably forbade the 'bull' to be placed on the royal arms, might have been endeavouring to avoid any references to such a 'coupling' which a vulgar prophecy like this one might have aroused in the populace. His other queens were all allowed to include their family arms in their new royal crests. Wolsey's superstitious concern for prophecies and omens is substantiated by several anecdotes that have come down to us. See below (170/10 and n.).

129/31 **the last monye:** Presumably the £3,000 in ready money which was included in Henry's gift of 14 February (Singer, p. 507). For Wolsey's debts after his fall, all of which were taken over by the king, see Pollard (pp. 273–4).

130/7 **Doctor Collett:** John Colet (1467?–1519), the famous Dean of St. Paul's, who had built this house shortly before he died. Colet's dwelling is mentioned in Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* (Everyman ed., p. 292) and a brief description of it is given in the *Life of Colet* printed by Wordsworth (p. 444).

130/9 **the passion weke:** See below (132/30 and n.).

131/3 **q^d oon among theme:** The council member who speaks

here will probably remain unidentified, but it may be suggested that Cavendish is alluding to Sir Thomas More (from whom he could have got the story), the only man in the council who seems to have foreseen the turn that events were to take in the future. Not long before this More had remarked to Roper: 'I haue no cawse to be proud [of the king's affection], for if my head could winne him a castle in Fraunce . . . it should not faile to goe' (Roper's *Life of More*, p. 21).

131/7 lett vs do, etc.: Perhaps echoing Luke, vi, 31, but the phrase is, of course, proverbial.

131/23 a M^l marces: See above (124/33–4 and n.). This sum was paid to Wolsey on 18 March (LP, V, p. 318).

132/3 a M^l li: Henry entrusted this money to Laurence Stubbs, the cardinal's receiver-general, with specific instructions that it be used only to pay his debts. But even this sum was insufficient to compensate Wolsey's creditors. See Stubbs's letter to Wolsey (LP, IV, 6390) and Pollard (p. 274).

132/16 Supply 'was' before 'greatly'.

132/30 the passion weke: Passion Week began on Sunday, 3 April, in 1530. By reckoning back from the date (Palm Sunday, 10 April) of Wolsey's arrival at Peterborough, we find that he left Richmond on Tuesday, 5 April.

132/32 hendon: The Abbot of Westminster at this time was John Islip, the last of the great masters of the Abbey. He was succeeded in 1532 by William Boston. The manor of Hendon had been given to Westminster by Richard le Rous in 1312 (Wordsworth, p. 616).

132/32 the Rye: Rye House in Hertfordshire, later the scene of the famous 'Rye House Plot' of June 1683. It was owned at this time by Maud Parr (1495–1531), the wife of Sir Thomas Parr (d. 1518) and the mother of Catherine Parr, the sixth and last queen of Henry VIII. See *Wills from Doctors Commons*, Camden Society, LXXXIII, 9–20.

133/2 to Peterboroughe: 9 April 1530. The king had been asked for letters of recommendation under the privy seal addressed to the various nobles with whom Wolsey stayed on his route northwards. That to the Abbot of Peterborough is dated 28 March (LP, IV, 6294).

133/4 the thursday: 21 April.

133/11 maundy Thursday: 14 April. The fifty-nine poor men each represented a year of the cardinal's life. This passage provides the best evidence for the date of Wolsey's birth (see above, 4/29 and n. and Pollard, p. 276, n. 1).

133/17 the resurreccioñ: 17 April. By 'the resurreccioñ' Cavendish means the ceremonies connected with Easter. Singer (p. 309) quotes the following passage from the *Processionale secundum usum Sarum* (1555 ed., fol. 72) to illustrate the ritual: 'On Easter Day, before mass, and before the ringing of the bells, let the clerks assemble, and all the tapers in the church be lighted. Then two persons shall draw nigh to the sepulchre, and after it is censed let them take the cross out of the sepulchre, and one of them begin *Christus resurgens*. Then let the procession commence. After this they shall all worship (*adorent*) the cross. Then let all the crucifixes and images in the church be unveiled, etc.'

133/23-4 sir willam ffitzwilliam: Sir William Fitzwilliam (1460?–1534), not to be confused with Sir William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton (d. 1542). Cavendish's Sir William was originally a merchant of London; he was instrumental in obtaining a new charter for the Taylors' Company in 1502 and was frequently in trouble with the City of London as a consequence of his action. See Charles M. Clode, *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, London, 1888, I, 36–7.

The reason why the City became so incensed over the new charter was that it gave the guild the privilege of admitting new members without restriction. Fitzwilliam's quarrel with the City came to a head a few years later when he was appointed Sheriff by the king and the city-elected candidate deposed. The Mayor and aldermen deprived him of his rights as a freeman of the City in consequence, but a Star-Chamber decree of 1511 (in which Wolsey almost certainly had a hand) remitted their decision. Thereafter, Fitzwilliam rose rapidly. Wolsey soon made him Treasurer of his household and a member of the Council. He was knighted in 1522. His house where the cardinal stayed was Milton Manor in Northampton, which Fitzwilliam had purchased in 1506 from Richard Wittelbury.

134/1 he reioyed: Wolsey had good reason to rejoice on this occasion: he had already written to Gardiner complaining about the charges he had to bear at Peterborough (LP, IV, 6299).

134/4 Thursday next: Wolsey left Peterborough on 21 April. He stayed four days with Sir William Fitzwilliam and left for Stamford on Monday, 25 April (below, 135/8).

135/9 the next day: 26 April. The gentleman with whom Wolsey lodged at Grantham was John Hall, Surveyor of Calais, and father of Arthur Hall (fl. 1563–1604) whose *Ten Books of Homers Iliades* (1581) are the first English translation of Homer.

135/10 **The next day:** Wolsey was at Newark on the 27th and rode to Southwell on the 28th. He stayed at the house of Archdeacon Magnus until his own manor at Southwell could be repaired; Magnus had already written to him that he did not have enough room and that, in any event, he would have to reside in his benefice himself (LP, IV, 6341; see below, 138/12 and n.). But the cardinal was not a man to be put off by the complaints of a mere archdeacon.

135/25 **sence . . . lyueres:** i.e. shortly after 18 March (see above, 132/15 ff.), when Wolsey was paid the 1,000 marks out of Winchester.

136/9–12 The sentence structure is very compressed: ‘for often changing . . . for riches, who will . . . abundance [brings it about that] the poor Commons, etc.’

136/17–18 **confesse . . . premunyre:** For the reasons which prompted Wolsey to this confession see above (113/29–31 and n.). Wolsey’s explanation, as recorded by Cavendish in the following passage, is substantially in agreement with the discernible facts.

137/10 **a poore vykare:** A vicar’s benefice at this time was worth £20 a year; Wolsey himself had estimated that he would need £4,000 a year to maintain himself after his fall (Pollard, p. 323).

137/19 **the nyght Crowe:** The allusion is, of course, to Anne Boleyn.

137/26–7 **Quia indignacio . . . est:** cf. Proverbs xvi, 14, *Indignatio regis, nuntii mortis*. Most men of the early Tudor period would have agreed with Wolsey’s maxim: a few years later the Duke of Norfolk was to quote it ominously to More (Harpsfield, p. 165, following Roper, pp. 71–2), who replied: ‘Is that all, my Lord? Then in good faith is there no more differens/betwenee *your* grace *and* me, but that I shall dye today, *and* yow tomorrow.’ Archbishop Warham had also used it in 1528, when he refused to aid Queen Catherine in her defence (above, 15/28 and n.).

138/12 **a prebendaries howsse:** The house of Archdeacon Magnus, who, despite his complaints (above, 135/10 and n.), had been forced to put Wolsey up for the time. The cardinal moved into his repaired palace at Southwell on 4 June. Whitsunday fell on 5 June in 1530.

139/1 **Corpus xpi [i.e. Christi] Eve:** 15 June.

139/12–13 **demaundyng what they ware:** i.e. ‘asking who they were’. Cf. *Othello*, I, i, 94, ‘What are you? My name is Roderigo.’

139/14 **m^r Breerton:** William Brereton (d. 1536) afterwards

executed as one of Anne's lovers. The expense account of his journey with Wriothesley includes the item 'Guide to Southwell, 12d.' (LP, IV, 6489). The document to which Wolsey affixed his signature was the famous petition (dated 13 July 1530) from the clergy and nobility of England to Clement VII, begging him to accede to the king's wishes in the divorce case. As Pollard (p. 287, n. 2) points out, Cavendish was probably unaware of its contents; otherwise, he could scarcely have described the cardinal as so opposed to the divorce.

139/15 m^r Wrothesley: Thomas Wriothesley (1505–1550), a servant of Cromwell by February 1524, and Clerk of the Signet by 4 May 1530, the latter office probably accounting for his participation in this journey. He was created Earl of Southampton on 16 February 1547.

140/15 the Erle of Shrewesburys: George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury (1468–1538), who had already had a long and full career under both Henry VII and Henry VIII. During the divorce he supported the king and gave evidence against the queen at the trial. After Wolsey's arrest, the Earl entertained him at Sheffield Castle for several weeks (below, pp. 163 ff.).

141/1 vntill . . . Grease tyme: About 1 September 1530. Cavendish, who is the chief authority for the stages of Wolsey's journey at this point, is not precise on the date. It would seem that the cardinal spent about four or five days on the road and arrived at Scrooby about 6–7 September. He left there 'abought the feast of Seynt Michell' (29 September, below 144/9) and reached Cawood on 2–3 October.

144/11 vijen myles: Cawood is nine and a half miles from York, not seven.

144/32 bylt . . . Castle: On 18 August Cromwell wrote to Wolsey as follows: 'Sir, sum ther be, that doth alledge that Your Grace doth kepe to grete a house and famlyle, and that ye are contynually buylding; for the love of God, therefore, I eftesones, as I often tymys have done, most hertelye beseche Your Grace to have respecte to every thing, and consideryng the time, to refraygne your self, for a season, from al maner byldyngges, more then mere necessite requireth' (*State Papers*, I, 366).

145/2 sir Richard Tempest & m^r Bryan hastynges: The cause of the quarrel between these two gentlemen must probably remain unknown but it may be noted that Sir Richard Tempest had been knighted at Tournai, 25 September 1513, and had served as Sheriff

of York in 1517. He was at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 and later seems to have been a member of the Duke of Richmond's court in the North (LP, IV, 3551). Bryan Hastings, who appears to have been the younger of the two men, was knighted on 24 May 1533 at Greenwich before the coronation of Anne.

146/10-11 **very late/to dynne:** Dinner during this period usually took place at about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning. The *Northumberland Household Book* (London, 1827, p. 310) says that 'to x of the Clock that my Lorde goos to Dynner'.

146/21-3 **As it appered . . . hymē:** See Cavendish's description of their laments at Wolsey's departure from Cawood (below, 161/22ff.).

146/29 **Doctor hikden:** Doctor Brian Higden (d. 1539) became Dean of York in 1516, succeeding John Young, who had succeeded Wolsey himself on 17 May 1514. He is not to be confused with the Doctor John Higden who was Dean of Cardinal College, Oxford (below, 176/34-5). For Brian Higden, see Le Neve (III, 126).

146/30 **the treasurer:** The Treasurer of York at this time was Lancelot Collyndon (d. 1538), who had held the office since 1514 (Le Neve, III, 162).

146/34 **so long . . . theme:** A delicate euphemism on the part of the doctors; in fact, Wolsey had never entered his diocese since the day he received the archbishopric.

148/4 **the next monday:** Monday, 7 November.

148/7-8 **the comen fame:** It was not only Wolsey's coming 'enthronisation' that caused rumours to spread about his plans to return to power: he had summoned a convocation to meet at York on 7 November without waiting for the normal royal mandate and apparently intended to go through with it despite the warnings he received (Pollard, pp. 292-3).

148/26-7 **the vamppes of my hosyn:** Wolsey may have been recalling the manner in which his successful rival for the papacy, Adrian VI, had proceeded to his installation as Pope. According to Harpsfield (p. 42 and Chambers' note, p. 324) Adrian had walked barefoot through the city of Rome on his way to St. Peter's in January 1522.

149/4-5 **the Mayor:** The Mayor of York in 1530 was Sir George Lawson (d. 1543), later a member of Parliament for York. The York Civic Records (*Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series*, CVI and CVIII, 1942-3) contain numerous notices of his activities.

150/29 **sir walter welshē**: Sir Walter Walsh is frequently mentioned in the *Letters and Papers* and in the *Privy Purse Expences*. He had recently married the widow of Sir William Compton and was undoubtedly in the king's esteem (see LP, IV, 4477). It may or may not be significant that on 31 October 1530 the king made him a present of £10 (*Privy Purse Expences*, p. 85); Walsh started North to arrest Wolsey on 1 November.

150/31 **the Erle of Northehumberland**: Henry Percy, the sixth Earl, who has already figured prominently in the early part of the *Life*. See above (29/34 and n.).

151/13–14 **doctor Augusteyn**: Agostino d'Agostini, a native of Venice and the nephew of Ghinucci, Bishop of Worcester. 'He had entered Wolsey's service about 1527, was given by him the prebend of Wetwang in York cathedral, and was naturalized in 1530. He became in 1532 physician to Wolsey's old colleague Campeggio, was a friend of Sir T. Elyot, kept up a correspondence with Cromwell, and referred to Wolsey as *heros meus felicis memoriae*' (Pollard, p. 296). Cavendish's representation of Agostini as the Judas who betrayed his master does not seem to be supported by the facts of the situation. He was, of course, arrested as a traitor, but this seems to have been due to his role in carrying letters for the cardinal; it is 'practically certain' (Pollard, p. 295) that, once in London, he turned king's evidence and thus implicated the cardinal, but he did not forge the correspondence with the foreign ministers.

151/17 **raylyng**: Apparently *O.E.D.* v. 3: 'flowing, gushing down, usually said of blood'. But Cavendish seems to be using the word in a transferred sense; in his example it is the cross which 'rails down', thus causing blood to flow. Cf. the *O.E.D.*'s quotation from Capgrave: 'Ffro thi eynez lete the water now be thi checkis reyle.'

151/18 **doctor Bonners**: Edmund Bonner (1500?–69), the famous 'bloody Bonner' of Foxe's martyrology. He had become Wolsey's chaplain in 1529 and had been frequently employed by him as a messenger to Gardiner and Cromwell.

151/29 **Malum Omen**: For Wolsey's superstitions, see the note on the 'dun cow' passage (above, 127/23) and below (170/10 and n.).

151/33 **Pountfrett Abbey**: i.e. at Pontefract Abbey on 6 November after his arrest.

152/21 **the ffriday next**: 4 November 1530.

153/35–154/1 **his gentilman vssher**: Possibly Cavendish himself?

154/17 **to se . . . howsse**: As Wordsworth (p. 639) notes, 'this was a very natural expression for Wolsey to use, although it conveys

somewhat of a reproof'. The Earl lived at Wressil Castle, only ten miles from Cawood.

155/17 My lord . . . treason: Hall's account of Wolsey's arrest (p. 773) differs in some details from Cavendish's: 'he [the Earl] . . . came to the Manor of Cawod . . . and when he was brought to the Cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, my lord I pray you take pacience, for here I arrest you. Arrest me sayd y^e Cardinal, yea sayd the erle I haue a commaundement so to do: you haue no such power sayd the Cardinal, for I am both a Cardinal and a Legate de Latere and a pere of the College of Rome & ought not to be arrested by any temporal power, for I am not subiect to that power, wherfore if you arrest me, I will withstand it: well sayd the erle here is the kings Commission (which he shewed him) and therfore I charge you to obey, etc.'

155/25-6 an auncient grudge: Wolsey's reference is apparently to strife that had existed between the earl's ancestors and former Archbishops of York. There was, of course, much bad blood between the earl and his father and the cardinal. The Percy-Anne episode has already been mentioned by Cavendish himself. In 1516, the fifth earl, who was a friend of Buckingham, was imprisoned in the Fleet, 'put there so that Wolsey might have the credit of getting him out' (*D.N.B.*). When the fifth earl died in 1527, the cardinal appropriated, among other effects, his chapel books. See young Percy's letter on the subject (Singer, p. 462).

156/14 Sedell: Schedule, 'originally a separate paper or slip of parchment accompanying or appended to a document, and containing explanatory or supplementary matter' (*O.E.D.*).

160/6-7 thes wordes of scripture: 'Scripture' in Cavendish's day could refer to any religious writing, not, as now, to the Bible alone. Wolsey's words form part of a liturgical *responsorium* composed by King Robert of France (c. 970-1031). The text is in Migne (*Patrologia Latina*, vol. 141, col. 944) where the only differences from Cavendish's words are 'despicabilis' for 'despicibilis' (see the emendation) and 'retributionis' for 'tribulacionis'; it continues with the response 'Nobis ergo petimus piis subveniat meritis, honorificata Patre qui est in coelis. Invenietur in laudem, etc.' According to Migne, the hymn is still sung in France, and is found in 'quelques Processionaux au commun des martyrs' (*ibid.*, col. 902).

It is perhaps worth mentioning that the 'O Constantia' occurs in the *Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum* (Paris, 1515, I use the Basel edition of 1517) of Jodocus Clichtovaeus (Josse Clichtove, 1472-1543),

where it is the sixth responsorium for the feast of the Blessed Sacrament (Sigs. S₄–S_{4v}). Clichtove, a noted theologian of his day, was director of studies to Louis Guillard, Bishop-elect of Tournai, who disputed that see with Wolsey for over four years (1514–18; see above, 15/2–3 and n.). It is not at all impossible that Clichtove was known personally to the cardinal. His book collects a vast body of ecclesiastical hymns and gives full explanations of their symbology. In his comment on the 'O Constantia' he remarks that 'hoc responsorium elegans admodum & suave, fertur composuisse Robertus rex Franciae, uir non minus literarum & uirtutum splendor, atque regia dignitate spectabilis. In cuius responsorii fronte allusisse dicitur ad nomen reginae uxoris suae, quae Constantia uocabatur, praefigendo id nomen (communiter tamen sumptum) in capite sui operis.' The story is also in Migne (col. 902) and in Helen Waddell's *The Wandering Scholars* (New York, 1927), p. 73.

160/18 **the next day:** Wolsey left Cawood on Sunday, 6 November, reaching Pontefract Abbey that night (below, 162/30).

162/3–4 **lett... Northumberland:** Northumberland had remained behind at Cawood to complete the inventory of Wolsey's possessions. This inventory, signed by the Earl and 'Walter Walch', is calendared in LP, IV, 6748, item 12.

162/7 **sir Roger lasselles:** Sir Roger Lascelles of Sowerby and Brackenbury in Lincolnshire, captain of Norham Castle for the earl. Four letters from him to Northumberland on Scottish affairs are calendared in the *Letters and Papers* (IV, 4674, 4709, 4720 and 4728, all from August and September 1528). James V refers to him as 'Master Leisence' in a letter to Henry VIII of 22 June 1529 (LP, IV, 5706).

162/16–17 **ijj^{re} shyrtes of heare:** For William Forrest's comment on Wolsey's hair shirt, see Appendix A.

162/20 **to Poumfrett:** Wolsey's despairing words were no doubt inspired by his knowledge that Pontefract Castle, or 'Pomfret' as it was generally pronounced, had been the scene of state executions in times past. Cf. the words of Lord Rivers in *Richard III* (III, iii, 9–14):

O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody prison,
Fatal and ominous to noble peers!
Within the guilty closure of thy walls
Richard the second here was hack'd to death;
And, for more slander to thy dismal seat,
We give thee up our guiltless blood to drink.

162/33 **The next day:** Monday, 7 November. Wolsey spent the night at the Blackfriars, Doncaster, and arrived at Sheffield on 8 November.

163/10-11 **therle of Shrewsbury:** For Shrewsbury, see above (140/15 and n.). He had married his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Walden of Erith, Kent, about 1512.

164/17 **xvijen dayes after:** This statement is not contradicted by Cavendish's later remark, 'the space after of a fowerthnyght' (167/10), which refers to the number of days Wolsey spent at Sheffield *after* his long lamentation to the earl (below, ll. 27ff.) and not to the whole period of his stay. But Cavendish's eighteen days should be sixteen, for Wolsey arrived on the 8th and left, under Kingston's arrest, on the 24th.

164/34-165/1 **than he . . . mystrust:** The word order is inverted: 'than for any mistrust he hath, etc.'

165/1 **Alas/qd my lord:** The cardinal's lament contains many echoes of the Psalms. Cf., for example, his 'ffor he is my stafe . . . ennemyes' (165/18-20) with Ps. xxiii, 4, 'thy rod and thy staff they comfort me'; also Ps. xxxi, 2-3, 'Be thou my strong rock, for a house of defence to save me. For thou art my rock and my fortress; therefore for thy name's sake lead me and guide me.' Note especially how Wolsey's 'hauyng non other refuge . . . contynually Imagynyth' (165/29-33) echoes Ps. lvii, 1, 'Yea, in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge', and the whole of Ps. lix with its references to the enemies that 'return at evening and wander up and down'. Cf. also Ps. lxi, 2.

167/15 **at certyne season:** By counting back from the day of Wolsey's death (29 November) it can be ascertained that this was Tuesday the 22nd, the date of Kingston's arrival at Sheffield.

168/3-4 **oon article of myn othe:** Evidently Cavendish had sworn that no medicines would be given to the cardinal unless his captors were first informed of the fact.

168/22 **laske:** For the details of Wolsey's disease see below (178/22-3 and n.).

168/32 **sir willam kyngstone:** Sir William Kingston (d. 1540) had been knighted at Flodden in 1513. A favourite of Henry VIII, he was made Constable of the Tower on 28 May 1524.

170/10 **Mr kyngesston/qd he:** According to an anecdote preserved by Fuller (*Church History*, II, 51) Wolsey had been told that 'he should have his end at Kingston'. For this reason the

cardinal is said to have avoided passing through Kingston-on-Thames on his way to the court. Wolsey's reliance on soothsayers and fortune tellers is mentioned in the contemporary *Chronicle of King Henry VIII* (p. 3) and by William Forrest in *Grisild the Second* (p. 52), who also tells of his belief that a woman would cause his fall:

Hee counseled (men saide) withe Astronemyers
(Or what other secte I cannot well saye,
Weare they Sothesayers or weare they lyers),
Whyther he shoulde fall or florysche alwaye;
Whois answeare was, he shoulde come to decaye
By meanys (they fownde) of a certayne woman,
But what shee sholde bee they coulde not saye than.

For other instances of the cardinal's superstitions, see above (127/23 and n., and 151/29).

171/7 **Imynent**: 'imminent', probably for 'eminent', noteworthy. The *O.E.D.* gives one example (from 1642) of this confusion. But 'imminent' in the sense of 'threatening' is also possible here.

171/12 **I perceyve . . . knowe**: Cf. Wolsey's words to Kingston later (173/20): 'I knowe what is provydid for me.' The cardinal believed that he was destined for the Tower and his suspicions are proved to have been correct by an entry in the treasurer's accounts (LP, V, p. 322): 'To Sir Wm. Kingston, captain of the King's Guard, sent to the earl of Shrewsbury with divers of the Guard, for the conveyance of the cardinal of York to the tower, 40 1.'

173/34 **Colour Adustum**: Cavendish's variation of the normal sixteenth-century 'choler adust', a disease whose symptoms were dryness of the body, heat, thirst, black or burnt colour of the blood, and deficiency of serum in it, atrabilious or 'melancholic' complexion, etc. Cavendish's use of the term to refer to the excreted bile is paralleled by the *O.E.D.*'s 1601 example, 'Choler black and adust, what purgeth downward.'

174/2 **doctor Nicholas**: The only reference to this Doctor Nicholas which I have been able to discover occurs in the *Privy Purse Expences* (p. 192), where he is listed as having received a reward from the king. There is a 'Nicholas' mentioned as being in Wolsey's service in a letter from Vannes to the cardinal of 7 June 1529 (LP, IV, 5656), but he is probably not Cavendish's doctor, who is described as 'being w^t therle'.

174/6-7 **if therle . . . byn**: i.e. if the Earl of Shrewsbury had not prevented him from doing so.

174/8 the next day: 24 November, Wolsey was taken ill on the 22nd, the day of Kingston's arrival, and on the 23rd he was too weak to move (above, 173/32).

174/14 hardwyke hall: As the Rev. Joseph Hunter was the first to point out, this was not the famous Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, later the home of the Countess of Shrewsbury during Elizabeth's reign, but Hardwick-upon-Line in Nottinghamshire, four miles from Newstead Abbey. See Singer's note (pp. 379–80).

174/15 the next day: 25 November.

174/16 and the next day: Saturday, 26 November.

174/20 the Abbott: Richard Pexall or Pexsall, who was Abbot of St. Mary's, Leicester, from 1509 to 1533. Leicester Abbey belonged to the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine, an order in which Wolsey himself was a brother. In 1518 the canons had appealed to the cardinal to maintain their authority over refractory brethren (LP, IV, p. dcxiv, n. 1).

174/30 vpon Monday: 28 November.

175/9 doctor Palmes: Doctor George Palmes, who, in 1544, became Archdeacon of York. A short account of his preferments is given in Nichols's *History of Leicester* (I, ii, 271, n. 4) and in the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (I, iii, 302). On 28 January 1531 William Lelegrave wrote to Kingston reporting that Doctor Palmes had told him about a debt of £100 which was owed to Wolsey by the Prior of St. Oswald's in Gloucestershire (LP, V, 66). He is probably the George Palmes referred to at this time in the *Letters and Papers* (V, 572 and 1688) as 'Receiver of the revenues of the Archdeaconry of York'.

175/18-19 Mr Vyncent: David Vincent, who had been one of the grooms of Wolsey's privy chamber (LP, IV, 4198, V, p. 325; Pollard, p. 299). Vincent was made Keeper of the Great Wardrobe at Richmond on 29 December 1530, only a month after Wolsey's death (LP, IV, 6803, [29]). In 1532 he received the same office at Greenwich (LP, V, 838, [31]). Cavendish's story of the £1,500 for which Wolsey was accountable to the king rests, as might be expected, solely on his authority. Vincent had left Wolsey at Scrooby in September (below, 184/15–16) and had been arrested later on suspicion of having stolen the money.

176/5 a boke at Cawood: The 'book' does not appear in the inventory as calendared in the *Letters and Papers* (IV, 6748, item 12).

176/33 sir John Alyn: Sir John Alen or Alyn was a prominent

London alderman, who had been mayor in 1526; he is frequently referred to in the *Letters and Papers*, where we learn that he was one of the commissioners appointed to make inquisition in London of Wolsey's possessions during the summer of 1530 (IV, 6516, item 1) and that the cardinal owed him a sum of £83 12s. 'for arras . . . at his departure northwards' (IV, 6748, item 15).

176/33-4 sir Richard Gressham: Sir Richard Gresham (1485?–1549) was not knighted until 18 October 1537, in which year he was Mayor of London. A member of the Mercers' Company, he had had extensive dealings with Wolsey in the past. The cardinal owed him a sum of £226. 12s. 5d. at the time of his arrest at Cawood (LP, IV, 6748, item 15).

176/34 the m^r of Savoye: The Master of the Savoy at this time was William Holgill, who was Wolsey's surveyor and who had been active in the dissolution of the monasteries under Cromwell (LP, IV, 633, 2193, 4547, 6329, etc.). The inventory taken at Cawood shows that Wolsey owed him £100, which may or may not be part of the debt mentioned here. The Savoy had been founded as a London palace on 12 February 1246 from a grant of land given by Henry III to Peter of Savoy. It was destroyed by Wat Tyler's mob in 1381. Henry VII rebuilt it as a hospital about 1505 and endowed it in his will.

176/34-5 Doctor hykden: Doctor John Higden, who had been elected to the presidency of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1516; he had resigned in 1525 to become Dean of Cardinal College, a position which he held until 15 January 1531, when all the lands and patronage of the college were finally surrendered to the king (Le Neve, II, 511; III, 561 and, for other preferments held by Higden, II, 190 and III, 223). John Higden may have been a brother of Cavendish's 'Doctor hikden Deane of the chirche of yorke', for whom see above (146/29 and n.).

176/35-177/1 the Treasurer: Lancelot Collyndon (above, 146/30 and n.).

177/1-2 the Dean of yorke: John Higden (above, 146/29 and n.).

177/2 parson Elis: Apparently the 'Mr. Elis, the priest', who is referred to in the *Letters and Papers* (IV, 6186) as a member of Wolsey's household at the time of his death. He is perhaps to be identified with the 'Mons. Ellys' who was in the cardinal's suite on the French embassy of 1527 (LP, IV, 3216). We also hear of a 'Sir Nich. Ellys, clk.' who was apparently in Wolsey's service in 1529 and who may have been the 'Elis' mentioned as a bearer of a letter

from the cardinal to the Lord Chief Justice about 10 August 1530 (LP, IV, 5331 and 6555).

177/3 my Steward: A letter to Wolsey of 10 June 1530 mentions that 'Master Donington' is rumoured to be Wolsey's steward, a man 'who is not beloved in that country' (LP, IV, 6447). This was probably Thomas Donington, one of Wolsey's chaplains, who appears to have been in the king's displeasure in January 1530 (LP, IV, 6164). On 10 August of that year Donington wrote to Cromwell thanking him for his services, which may have entailed some pleading of his cause with the king. The only other reference to Donington which I have been able to discover occurs in a letter of 27 March 1529, where he is said to have failed to perform his duty (LP, IV, 5400). What this duty was or how Donington failed in it is not specified in the letter.

178/12 saynt Androwes Eve: 'Tuesday, 29 November, the day of Wolsey's death.

178/22–3 I haue . . . desease: For Wolsey's pride in his medical knowledge, see above (121/34 and n.). According to Hall (p. 774), the cardinal died 'for very feblenes of nature caused by purgacions and vomites'. William Forrest (see Appendix A) had heard that his death was brought about from taking 'too, too many' pills. Augustine, who was not with Wolsey at Leicester, wrote to Norfolk about six months later that the cardinal did not die of poison, as had been rumoured, 'sed tremore cordis et atra bili, forsa[n] dolore animi, jampridem contracto' (LP, V, 283, 3 June 1531).

178/28 the viijth day: Wolsey had been taken ill on 22 November (above, 167/15 and n.).

178/34–5 But if I . . . kyng: A remarkable parallel to Wolsey's dying words is found in Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* (ed. A. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols., 1899–1911, Scottish Text Society, I, 393): 'And in the meane tyme the said Schir James Hammilltoun [who is appearing to James V in a vision after the king had had him executed] sould say into the king of Scotland as efter followis: "Thou hes gart slay me wrangouslie and uniustlie, ffor I was innocent of the cryme that was layd to me; thocht I was ane sinner aganis God zeit [i.e. 'yet'] I faillzett not to the. Had I bene allis goode ane servant to my god as I was to the, I had not dieit the deid.'" Pitscottie's history was not composed until 1576–9 and it is not impossible that the Scots writer had heard of Wolsey's deathbed words. Cf. also Skelton's *Magnificence* (Works, I, 290): 'In welthe to beware, yf I had had grace,/Never had I bene brought in this case.'

179/13-15 **And rather . . . daynger:** As early as 20 August 1528 Du Bellay had written to Montmorency that 'His [Wolsey's] great difficulty is that he knows his master to be the most avaricious man in the world' (LP, IV, 4649).

179/25 **the lutarnaunce:** Wolsey himself had not been unduly severe in his proceedings against heretics. He had burned the reformers' books, but it is a matter of record that 'there is no instance of the extreme penalty being inflicted during Wolsey's legacy by the cardinal himself, his commissaries, or the diocesan synods whose jurisdiction he effectively superseded' (Pollard, p. 214).

179/28 **the kyng of Beame:** For the Bohemian Revolt, see Appendix B.

180/28 **kyng Rycherd:** Wolsey refers to Wat Tyler's rebellion of June 1381. On 14 June Richard II met the rebels at Smithfield and gave them charters of freedom, which were revoked on 2 July. Tyler himself was killed at the Smithfield meeting and John Ball was executed on 14 July.

181/5 **sir John OldCastell:** Sir John Oldcastle (1378?–1417), the original of Shakespeare's Falstaff. He became a Lollard about 1410, was arrested after his failure to recant in 1413, but escaped from the Tower. Recaptured in 1417, he was sentenced as a traitor and heretic and hanged on the same day, 14 December.

181/25-6 **than we began . . . passion:** This was the normal deathbed procedure in Cavendish's day. John Mirk's *Instructions for Parish Priests* (E.E.T.S., o.s. 31) lists seven 'specialle interrogacions The whiche a Curat aught to aske euery cristene persone that liethe in the extremytie of dethe'. The seventh and last of these instructs the priest to say: 'Belevest thoue fully that Criste dyed for the, and that thoue may never be saved but by the Merite of Cristes passione, and thanne thankest therof god with thyne harte asmoche as thoue mayest? he answerethe, Yee' (pp. 64–5).

182/14-15 **vnto hym & to thabbot:** Apparently 'calling to the abbot to come unto him also'.

182/15 **the order of hys buriall.** Although Cavendish, naturally enough, does not mention the fact, Wolsey was buried in the so-called 'tyrants' grave' at Leicester Abbey where Richard III had been interred. By 4 December Chapuys had noted that 'gissent tous deux en une mesme eglize, la quelle l'on commence desja appeller la sepulture des tyrans' (Pollard, p. 302).

182/19 **the mayor of leycester:** The Mayor of Leicester in 1530 was William Tebbe, a baker, who had been born about 1480. He

died about 1543 and was himself buried at St. Mary's (*Roll of the Mayors . . . of Leicester*, ed. H. Hartopp, Leicester, 1935, p. 58).

183/17 **seynt Androwes day:** 30 November.

183/19–20 **seynt Nicholas Eve:** 5 December. Cavendish saw the king on the next day.

183/35–184/1 **sir John Gagge:** Sir John Gage (1479–1556), who was Henry VIII's Vice-Chamberlain from 1528 until 1540.

184/4 **sir harry Norres:** For Norris, see above (93/4 and n.).

186/21 **m^r Ratclyfe:** Robert Radcliffe or Ratcliffe (1483–1542), the father of Cavendish's 'yong . . . m^r Ratclyfe' (above, 61/17). The elder Radcliffe had been a prominent courtier throughout the reign of Henry VIII and on 8 December 1529 had been made Earl of Sussex.

187/16 **m^r Secretorye:** Stephen Gardiner, for whom see above (79/16 and n.). Gardiner's being at Hanworth is perhaps to be explained by the fact that he had recently (July 1530) received a grant of arable lands and rents in that honour (*D.N.B.*).

187/21 **the next day:** 7 December.

188/13 **Tezaurisat . . . ea:** Psalms xxxviii, 7 (A.V., xxxix, 6).

188/16–17 **an other . . . lyfe:** Perhaps echoing Ecclesiastes vi, 2, 'Vir, cui dedit Deus divitias et substantiam et honorem, et nihil deest animae suae ex omnibus quae desiderat, nec tribuit ei potestatem Deus ut comedat ex eo, sed homo extraneus vorabit illud.' The 'other person' must, of course, be Henry VIII. Cavendish repeats his account of Wolsey's final sentiments in his poems (II, 13), where the cardinal says: 'Some oon, perchance, shall me thereof dyscharge,/ Whom I most hate, and spend it owt at large.'

APPENDIX A

William Forrest's *The History of Grisild the Second* (1558)

Cavendish's reference to Queen Catherine as 'a perfect Grysheld' (35/21-2) assumes a larger significance when viewed in the light of the popularity of the Griselda legend in the sixteenth century. It seems to have been the practice of those who sympathized with the Queen's misfortunes to apply to her the name of Boccaccio's heroine.¹ Thus we find William Forrest dedicating his *History of Grisild the Second*² to Queen Mary as a token of the grief he felt for her mother's sufferings. It is of interest that Forrest finished his poem on 25 June 1558, one day after Cavendish put his signature to his manuscript of the *Life of Wolsey*. In the course of this poem³ Forrest describes many of Wolsey's activities in language which often corresponds quite closely to that of the *Life*. It would seem to be by no means impossible that Forrest and Cavendish were friends, and that Cavendish showed Forrest the manuscript on which he was working at some time before June 1558.

Such a possibility is rendered more likely by the fact that Forrest seems to rely very little on the printed accounts of the Queen which were available to him. He does tell us that the Prior of Leicester Abbey informed him that Wolsey wore a hair shirt during his last illness,⁴ but his major source of information seems to have come from someone who knew the cardinal well:

Of whome [Wolsey] ferdre I shall somewhat disclose
(By honest credyble information)
Howe hee fell into tribulation.

(p. 58; cf. Cavendish's mention of 'some approved
& credible person' at 3/18-19)

¹ The legend was, of course, easily accessible to English readers in Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale*.

² Ed. by W. D. Macray for the Roxburghe Club (London, 1875). William Forrest, who had, according to Macray, spent some time at Cardinal College, Oxford, was at this time a royal chaplain. See the account of him in the *D.N.B.*

³ The poem, in which Henry VIII figures as 'Walter' and Catherine as 'Grisild', is in broken-backed stanzas of rhyme royal, the same metre as that of Cavendish's poems.

⁴ And to signyfie that hee was penytent,
Certaynlye, the Pryor I herde thus saye. (p. 61)

Whether or not this 'information' came from George Cavendish remains a moot point, but the following stanzas, in which Forrest lists two causes for the fall of the cardinal, are very close to the tenor and phrasing of Cavendish's narrative:

A certayne younge lorde [Percy] in his Cowrte dyd dwell
 Whoe shewed pretence to this conclusion,
 (Whyther of earnest, other illusion,
 The veary certayntee scace saye I can)
 For to haue macht with the ladye *Anne*.

His lorde (the *Cardynall*) as hee thearof knwe
 He raged withe hym outragyouslyle,
 Protestinge he shoulde his entreprise rwe
 If eauer he herde hym vse her compayne;
 This was before she was ordayneid ladye;
 Whiche from her knowledge was not kept secret,
 Whearefore longe tyme she muche ynwardlye fret.
 (Cf. the Percy episode in Cavendish, 29/34ff., especially 30/20-2)

Thother occasion was (as is saide) this:
 When *Walter* on her dyd firste caste his mynde,
 He asked the *Cardynall* what his aduyse is,
 Whoe answearde hym, as after [s]he dyd fynde,
 She was not for hym in anye maner kynde,
 Vnlesse for Concubyne he wolde her take,
 But as his Queene her clearlye to forsake.
 (pp. 58-9)

Forrest's depiction of Queen Catherine parallels Cavendish's account closely. We learn that

In perfecte charitee shee alwayes aboade
 And thanked God howe eauer it dyd frame,
 (p. 57)

and that during the trial, when she made her speech before the king,

Shee saide, to hym she was true wedded Wife,
 All Christendome ouer can wytnes the same,
 So wolde shee acknowledge duryinge her life,
 Howe eauer otherwise hee pleased her to name;
 As for his owne Royalme, for feare they did frame
 To the fulfillinge of his fixed mynde,
 Witheout respectinge what Conscience dothe bynde.

Shee added, his Father was thought man of wytt
 And wyttelye he wrought. . . .
 (pp. 82-3)

Most of these details can, it is true, be found in Hall (p. 755) but the following account of Wolsey's death is almost certainly that of an eye-witness, some of it, no doubt, from the Prior of Leicester Abbey, but some, perhaps, from George Cavendish himself:

Which sodayne nues [Wolsey's arrest] put hym in
 mortal fraye;
 Notwithstandinge, withe muche trobeled harte,
 Backwardys to *Lecestre* he dyd reuert.

In whiche journeyinge by the wayes (doubtles)
 Hce tooke certayne pylls, his stomake to purge,
 Replenisched with greuous heauynes
 For this sodayne tempestuous surge,
 Rysinge (as he thought) through the *Merqueses* grudge;
 So that of necessytee by the waye
 He tooke restynge at *Lecestre* Abbaye;

Wheare, thorowe woorkynge of the said peelys,
 (Whiche, as I herde tell, weare too too manye)
 And thorowe sorowe hymself he theare fealys
 His life to forgoe witheoute all remeadye.
 No longe was the tyme while he dyd theare lyc,
 Not passinge eyght dayes at the veary moste,
 Tyll he was foarsed to yealde vpp the goste.

Before he departed, right Christyanlye
 He sent for the Pryor and was confest,
 The Euchariste moste reuerentlye
 Receauynge into his penytent brest,
 Askynge God mercye withe harte moste earnest
 For that (in his tyme) by will, deade and thought,
 Agaynst His goodnes he had eauer myswrought.

And to signyfie that hee was penytent,
 Certaynlye, the Pryor I herde thus saye,
 A shurte of heare was his indument
 Next to his bodye, when he thear deadde lay;
 For whome hartelye it behoaueth to praye,
 Sithe hee heere ended so penytentlye,
 To whome (no doubte) God grauntethe His mercy.

What thought he lyued muche remyssyuelye,
 Farre out of the trade of his profession,
 Yeat dyeinge (as hee dyd) penytentlye,
 His sowle (no doubtys) hathe heauyns irection
 By hauyng in harte vycis suppression;
 For, thoughte mannys life bee neauer so infecte,
 God (speciallye) his ende dothe respecte.
 (pp. 60-1)

This is not the place to go into the many different phases of the development of the Griselda legend in sixteenth-century England, but it may perhaps be noted that among the books (in fact, the only vernacular book) which the humanist Vives recommended for the Princess Mary was 'Gresilda vulgata jam fabula'.¹ Cavendish himself later repeats his reference to the Queen in his poems (II, 97), when he makes Henry VIII say she was like

Unto pacient Greseld, if ever there ware any;
 For lyke hyr paciente there hathe not regned many.

We know also that Ralph Radcliffe had written a play on Griselda in either Latin or English between 1540 and 1542.² It is possible that this is the same play as that known as *The Play of Patient Grissell*,³ generally attributed to John Phillip, which was acted in the early years of Elizabeth's reign. Three further versions of the story may be noted: Dekker's *The Pleasant Comoedye of Patient Grissill* (1603);⁴ *The Ancient, True, and Admirable History of Patient Grisel*, a prose tract of 1619; and *The Pleasant and Sweet History of Patient Grissell*, an undated (1630?) tract in prose and verse.⁵

¹ *Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary*, ed. F. Madden (London, 1831), pp. cxxiii-cxxiv.

² It is mentioned by Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson, Oxford, 1902, p. 333. See also C. H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 111-12 and C. W. Roberts, *An Edition of John Phillip's 'Commandye of Pacient and Meeke Grissil'*, Univ. of Illinois Abstract of Thesis, Urbana, 1938, pp. 6-11.

³ Ed. for the Malone Society (1909) by R. B. McKerrow and W. W. Greg. For the problem of authorship, see Roberts, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Ed. by Grosart in vol. V of *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, Huntington Library, London, 1886.

⁵ Both the latter pieces were edited for the Percy Society, vol. III, London, 1841, and the former of them also by H. B. Wheatley, London, for the Villon Society, 1885.

APPENDIX B

The Battle of Pavia and the Bohemian Revolt

Cavendish's accounts of the Battle of Pavia (37/1–42/8) and the Bohemian Revolt (179/28–180/22) contain several serious violations of historical fact and embrace errors which go far beyond the simple slips of memory that have been discussed in the Introduction (above, p. xxxvif.). Since both of these events play a considerable part in the development of his biography and since he was not an eye-witness to either of them, I have thought it desirable to append the following discussion of the possible sources from which he may have obtained his information.

I. The Battle of Pavia

The revolt of Charles, Duke of Bourbon (1489–1527) from Francis I began in the early 1520s.¹ By 1523 the Duke was negotiating with the agents of Charles V and Henry VIII, with whom he concluded treaties which bound him and his forces to aid them in a coalition against Francis. In August 1524 Bourbon had besieged Marseilles but he was forced to retreat into Italy in September when Francis advanced upon him. The French soon took Milan, fifteen miles north of Pavia, and invested the latter town on 28 October; the Imperial forces, led by Bourbon and Pescara, had meanwhile retired to Lodi, fifteen miles to the east.

In Pavia itself, the gallant Antonio de Leyva commanded the besieged garrison. Despite the difficulty of obtaining supplies, he managed to keep up the morale of his forces, who frequently sallied out against the French army. On the night of 24–25 February 1525 Bourbon and Pescara launched their attack to relieve the town. Their troops

made a breach at three points in the walls of the park [which surrounded Francis's camp]. The soldiers wore white shirts in order that they might recognize each other; they marched in perfect order, in silence. Then, at daybreak, the imperial army penetrated into the park through the breaches. The French artillery at first ravaged Pescara's troops, who were forced to defile on the flank before it,

¹ The best modern account of the battle (followed in this discussion) is in Ernest Lavisse's *Histoire de France* (Paris, 1900–11), V, i, 217–24 (for the events leading up to Bourbon's revolt) and V, ii, 29–37 (for the battle itself).

but, little by little, the Spanish army became concentrated and entered the royal camp.

It was then that Francis I, abandoning his position, deployed his army before its entrenchments: in the front ranks, the men at arms, commanded by himself and flanked by German mercenaries, in the rear the Duke d'Alençon, further off, facing Pavia, La Palice. The king hurled himself at his enemies, thus masking his artillery, and he did it so quickly that the infantrymen could not follow him. Thus, having overthrown those whom he encountered before him, he found himself cut off, his gendarmes decimated by arquebusiers that Pescara had mixed in with his cavalry. Attacked apart [i.e. cut off from their leader], the foot-soldiers succumbed after an energetic struggle; the Swiss fought badly and broke their ranks in disorder. At that moment, Leyva left Pavia and hurled himself on the camp, while the Duke d'Alençon fled from the field of battle.

(Lavisse, V, ii, 36, my translation)

The king was surrounded and, though he fought bravely, soon captured. 6,000–8,000 French were killed, ‘among them the greatest lords of France’. The plain, says Lavisse, ‘was covered with blood for several days’.

So runs a modern retelling of the battle; nor does it differ greatly from the accounts of the sixteenth-century historians, none of whom was so confused about Pavia as Cavendish shows himself to be in his narrative. Although Cavendish is correct in his resumé of the events that led up to the investment of the town, he gets the central situation of the siege itself completely reversed. Bourbon was not in Pavia but instead came to its relief with Pescara. Cavendish could have found a correct account of the matter in Hall (pp. 691–3) but he does not seem to have consulted it on this occasion. Other sixteenth-century historians, though they vary in the details of the battle itself, do not make the mistake of putting the Duke in the town. Thus Sleidan,¹ Guicciardini,² and, later, de Serres³ give versions of the battle that accord fairly well with those of modern historians. Stowe and Holinshed, when they adopted Cavendish’s narrative, apparently did not notice his

¹ *A Famouse Cronicle of oure time, called Sleidanes Commentaries*, translated out of Latin into Englishe by Ihon Daus. London, 1560, Sig. K5.

² *The Historie of Guicciardin, conteining the warres of Italie and other partes. . . . Reduced into English by Gefray Fenton*. London, 1579, Sigs. 4G, ff. A very full account.

³ *A General Inventorie of the History of France*, by Ihon de Serres, translated by Edward Grimeston, London, 1607, Sigs. Qqq3ff. So also in the folio which Thomas Creede published in 1597, *The Mutable and wauering estate of France from the yeare of our Lord 1460, vntill the year 1595*, Sigs. B₄v–B₅v.

mistake, for they print his account of the battle without comment. If Cavendish was following a written source in his description of the battle, I have not been able to trace it.

Cavendish is also wrong when he speaks of a 'league' between Francis I and Henry VIII which Bourbon found in Francis's tent and he 'telescopes' history considerably when he makes the Duke set off for Rome 'immediately' after Pavia.¹ On the other hand, some of his details seem to have behind them a certain air of truth. According to Sleidan, there was a famous oration delivered at the battle, but it was made by Pescara outside the town and not by the Duke.² Another historian tells of the suffering within Pavia:

They that were within *Pavia* suffred no smal necessarie of money and municions, the store of wine beginning also to fayle and all other sorts of vittels, except bread: By reason whereof the launce-knightes assembled, and almost in maner of a tumult demaunded their pays, whervnto, besides their owne insolent dispositions, they were pushed on by incitacion of their capteine, who was feared to haue made some secret contract with the French king.³

Thus it would seem that some of Cavendish's details derive in a sketchy way from what must have been items of general news about the battle in the 1520s. Eager to emphasize how great a folly it is 'for any wyse man to take any waytie enterprize for hym self trustyng all together to his owen wyll not calling for gracie to assist hym in all his procedynges', and perhaps seduced by his fondness for the 'feigned oration',⁴ he seems to have allowed himself to deal with history in a much more cavalier manner than was his usual practice in his biography.

¹ For these two errors see the historical notes to 37/25-6 and 42/2-3.

² Sleidan, loc. cit.

³ Guicciardini, op. cit., 4F₅v.

⁴ For Cavendish's use of this rhetorical device, which originates in the fictitious speeches of the classical historians, see Wiley's note (op. cit., p. 124). Sidney, in his *Apology* (ed. G. G. Smith, I, 153), speaks deprecatingly of Herodotus and tells how

both he and all the rest that followed him either stole or vsurped of Poetrie their passionate describing of passions, the particularities of battailes, which no man could affirme, or, if that be denied me, long Orations put in the mouthes of great Kings and Captaines, which it is certaine they neuer pronounced.

But it is only in the speeches of the Duke at Pavia that Cavendish can be shown to have actually 'feigned' his orations. The great speeches at the divorce trial seem to be accurately reported. See Appendix C.

II. *The Bohemian Revolt*

Cavendish's relation of Wolsey's deathbed speech contains several historical errors that are just as marked as those which occur in his account of the Battle of Pavia. In this case, however, we know that neither Cavendish nor Wolsey is speaking of events which took place in his own lifetime. The Bohemian Revolt had occurred a hundred years before Wolsey's death and it is quite possible that the cardinal himself was misinformed about some of its central happenings. In any event we cannot place the sole responsibility for this narrative upon Cavendish; he may very well have forgotten some of the words which Wolsey uttered, but it is nevertheless possible that the substance of the narrative stems from Wolsey's own misinterpretation of events rather than from Cavendish's desire to drive his point home by a wilful perversion of history.¹

The principal errors in Cavendish's narrative² concern his statement that 'the King of Bohemia' was at first inclined to favour the reformers but later was forced 'to put harness on his back' and campaign against them. According to Cavendish (or Wolsey), the king was killed in the ensuing battle; since his death, Bohemia has been a lawless and disorderly country. In point of fact, Wenceslaus IV (1361–1419), to whom Cavendish ostensibly refers here, was favourable to the cause of the reformers until 1419, when he ordered the clergy who had been expelled by the Hussites to be restored. He died in the same year, apparently of a stroke that was brought on by the shock he sustained when the Hussites revolted against his decrees. His brother Sigismund (1368–1437) succeeded him and waged a long series of campaigns against the reformers, who would not accept him as king. He finally won them over in 1435, two years before his death. Although it is quite true that some of the nobles did unite with the Hussites against crown and clergy in both reigns (and it is doubtful whether Cavendish refers to Wenceslaus or to Sigismund), there is no historical support whatsoever for Cavendish's statement that the king was killed in battle against them.

Furthermore, if these words are actually Wolsey's, it is extremely difficult to believe that the Cardinal of York, famed diplomat that

¹ It should be noted that Bishop Fisher had also cited the revolt in Bohemia as a precedent for the Protestant uprisings in the sixteenth century. See Pollard (p. 301, note 1).

² These are noticed by Professor René Wellek in his article 'Bohemia in Early English Literature', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xxi (1943), pp. 121–2. I am indebted to Professor Wellek for his help in the elucidation of several obscure points in Cavendish's account.

he was, could have thought that anarchy still existed in Bohemia in 1530—four years after Ferdinand I, Charles V's brother, had ascended the throne in that country. Wolsey, it is true, may have deliberately slanted his words so as to paint the most terrible warning possible for Henry VIII; but one would scarcely think that he would have perverted contemporary history to such a degree.

As a matter of fact, Cavendish's whole speech is remarkably similar in tone and, at times, in actual detail, to the decidedly anti-Protestant history of Bohemia written by Aeneas Sylvius, the great fifteenth-century humanist scholar who had spent some time in Bohemia and had later become Pope.¹ Aeneas, though he seldom perverts actual fact and does not say that a Bohemian king was killed in battle against the Hussites, nevertheless devotes considerable space to virulent attacks on the reformers. Here is his description of their attack on a monastery after Wenceslaus' death:

Ncque hoc modo contenti, apud Sclauoniam, [*the Hussites*] nobile monasterium fratrum praedicatorum extra moenia oppidi situm, a fundamentis deiiciunt: Eaque prima ecclesiarum ruina in Hussitarum nouitate facta decurritur in ecclesias, monasteriaque passim: nobilissima superis dicata templa ferro atque igne uastantur nullum ergo regnum aetate nostra in tota Europa, tam frequentibus, tam augustis, tam ornatis templis dicatum fuisse, quam Bohemicum reor. (Sigs. E₆v–E₈)

All this was due to the 'rabies Hussitarum'. Later (Sigs. F₃–F_{3v}) Aeneas describes the sect of the Adamites, those early Protestants who had everything in common and who were, no doubt, the original for Cavendish's lines (180/20–22) about the reformers who 'lyved all in Comen lyke wyld bestes/ abhorred of all Cristyan nacions'.

Thus it appears that Cavendish's version of the Bohemian Revolt derives its tone and some of its details from the most popular account of the Hussites then available to Catholic Western Europe. As Professor Weltek has pointed out in his article, it was not until the reign of Edward VI that a less biased version of Bohemian history was made available to the general public in England. Both Cavendish and Wolsey undoubtedly saw the revolt as a bitterly chaotic anticipation of events that could well take place in England

¹ *Aeneae Silvii Senensis de Bohemorum origine*, Coloniae, 1524, the edition I use here. There were of course earlier editions, e.g. the quarto of ca. 1489 [Basel? Michael Furter?].

and either of them might have been willing to distort the facts further in their effort to devise a convincing exemplum for Henry VIII.

APPENDIX C

The Speeches at the Divorce Trial

Since Hall's account of the divorce proceedings and the speeches of Catherine and Henry VIII often agrees quite closely with the details and sometimes with the actual phrasing of Cavendish's narrative, I reproduce the relevant passages here for the convenience of the reader. They are offered as partial confirmation of the suggestion made in the Introduction (above, p. xxxi) that Cavendish may have used Hall's book to refresh his memory when he began the *Life*.

I. Catherine's Speech at the Divorce Trial

Hall does not report the Queen's words at Blackfriars¹ but he does tell of a visit paid to her by Wolsey and Campeggio some time late in 1528, at which time she addressed the two legates as follows:

Alas my lordes is it now a question whether I be the kynges lawful wife or no? When I haue been maried to him *almost xx. yeres* & in the meane season neuer question was made before? Dyuers prelates yet beyng alive & lordes also & *priuie counsalors* with the kyng at that tymc, then adiudged our mariage lawful and honest, and now to say it is detestible and abhominable, I thynke it greate maruell: and in especiall when I consider, *what a wise prince the kynges father was*, and also the loue and natural affeccion, that Kyng Fernando my father bare vnto me: I thynke in my self that neither of our fathers, were so vncercumspect, so vnwise, and of so small imaginacion, but they forsawe what might folowe of our mariage, and in especiall the Kyng my father, sent to the Courte of Rome, and there after long suite, with great cost and charge obteigned a licence and dispensacion. . . .

(p. 755; cf. the *Life*, 80/17-82/6, especially 81/11-23. I have italicized the words and phrases which Cavendish may be echoing.)

¹ He says only that Catherine protested against the jurisdiction of the court and appealed to Rome at the first session on 18 June. Henry's speech on the 21st (reproduced below) is said to have occurred while the Queen was in the court, not, as Cavendish correctly has it, after she departed.

Catherine, in Hall's account, then goes on to attack Wolsey for having instigated the divorce as a means of revenging himself on Charles V.

II. Henry's Speech at the Divorce Trial

Hall reports how, on 21 June, the king 'saied these wordes in effect folowynge':

My lordes, Legates of the Sea Appostolike, whiche be deputied Judges, in this great and waightie matter, I most hartely beseche you, to ponder my mynde and entent, which only is to haue a final ende, *for the discharge of my conscience*: for euery good christen man knoweth what pain, & what vnquietnes he suffreth, which hath his conscience greued, for I assure you on myne honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, & troubled my spirites, that I can scantely study any thyng, whiche should be proffitable for my Realme and people. And for to haue *a quietnes* in body and soule, is my desire and request, *and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I haue maried for I dare saie that for her womanhode, wisedom, nobilitie, and gentlencs, neuer Prince had suche another, and therfore if I would willyngly chaunge I wer not wise*: wherfore my suite is to you my Lordes at this tyme to haue a speedy ende, accordyng to right, for the quietnes of my mynde and conscience onely, and for no other cause as God knoweth.

(p. 757; cf. the *Life*, 82/23-84/5)

But even closer to Cavendish's version of Henry's speech at the trial is Hall's report of the king's words to the 'nobility, judges, and counsellors' at Bridewell on 8 November 1528 when he endeavoured to quiet the fears of the London citizens, who were very much on Catherine's side. After telling the false story of how the divorce question first arose during the negotiations for a French marriage for his daughter Mary, the king continued as follows:

Thinke you my lordes that these wordes [i.e. those of the French ambassador to the effect that Mary might be a bastard] touche not my body & soule, thinke you y^t these doynges do not daily & hourly trouble my conscience & vexe my spirites, yes we doubt not but & if it wer your owne cause euery man would seke remedy when the peril of your soul & the losse of your inheritaunce is openly layde to you. For this only cause I protest before God & in the worde of a prince, I haue asked counsail of the greatest clerkes in Christendome, and for this cause I haue sent for this legate [Campeggio] as a man indifferent only to know the truth and to settle my conscience and

for none other cause as God can judge. And touching the quene, if it be adiudged by y^e law of God that she is my lawfull wife, there was neuer thyng more pleasaunt nor more acceptable to me in my life *bothe for the discharge & cleryng of my conscience & also for the good qualities and condicions the which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of the whiche she is descended (as all you know) she is a woman of moste gentlenes,* of moste humilitie and buxumnes, yea and of al good qualities appertainingyng to nobilitie, she is without comparison, *as I this xx. yeres almoste haue had the true experiment, so that if I were to mary againe if the mariage might be good I would surely chose her aboue all other women:* But if it be determined by iudgement that our mariage was against Goddes law and clerely voyde, then I shall not onely sorowe the departing from so good a Lady and louyng companion, but muche more lament and bewaile my infortunate chaunce that I haue so long liued in adultery to Goddes great displeasure, and haue no true heyre of my body to inherite this realme. These be the sores that vexe my mynde, these be *the panges that trouble my conscience, & for these greues I seke a remedy.*

(pp. 754–5)

APPENDIX D

Some Notes on the Later History of the Life

The only modern study of the influence which the *Life of Wolsey* had on later writers is contained in a long and informative article by P. L. Wiley, who traces the various uses to which Elizabethan and Stuart historians put Cavendish's work.¹ Wiley's account, which does not make use of any manuscript materials, extends down to the time of the Puritan revolution and concludes with a description of the atmosphere in which the 1641 edition was produced. The following notes, which should be considered as supplementary to his researches, are offered in the hope that they may help to elucidate some of the more puzzling aspects of what one might venture to call 'the Cavendish tradition'.²

As Wiley notes, the first historian to make use of Cavendish's narrative was John Stowe who, in his *Chronicles of England* (1580)

¹ P. L. Wiley, 'Renaissance Exploitation of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*', *Studies in Philology*, xlivi (1946), pp. 121–46. Prior to this article, the best discussion of Cavendish's posthumous fame was the Rev. Joseph Hunter's pamphlet, 'Who Wrote Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*?'

² Appendix E, on the secondary manuscripts of the *Life*, also contains a great deal of incidental information about its later fortunes.

printed large portions of it from manuscript. In order that his history might not meet with official censure, the tailor-historian showed himself to be quite adept at drawing a fine seam through the pages of Cavendish's story. Every time Cavendish mentions Anne Boleyn or manifests his dislike for the Protestant cause Stowe very carefully deletes the passage. The result is a somewhat tatterdemalion version of the *Life*, a story with its core gone and its tragic motif suppressed. In the sparse pages of Stowe's narrative, the *Life of Wolsey* stands out like a series of purple patches, its richly detailed descriptions contrasting sharply with the mere chronicle of events that precedes and follows it. In 1592 Stowe included even more of Cavendish in his *Annals of England*, still being careful, however, to omit anything that might be construed as casting doubt on the good *mores* of the queen's ancestors.

From Stowe, the *Life* passed to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, whence perhaps it first caught the imagination of Shakespeare and whoever may have been associated with him in the composition of *Henry VIII*.¹ Meanwhile, Thomas Churchyard, picking up some details from Cavendish, had included his 'Tragedy of Cardinal Wolsey' in the 1587 edition of the *Mirror for Magistrates*,² and Thomas Storer, himself a pupil of Wolsey's Oxford college, had made a quite imaginative use of the *Life* in his poem (1599) on the cardinal. After the succession of James historians no longer had to worry about offending the reigning house and Cavendish's narrative appears, with all the references to Anne Boleyn, in John Speed's *History of Great Britain* (1611, 1623), Francis Godwin's *Annals* (1616), and Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Life and Reign of Henry VIII* (1649).³

¹ The *Life* first appeared in the second edition of Holinshed (1587). Thomas Woodcock, one of the printers who collaborated on this folio, was also the scribe who copied out MS. Jones 14. See Appendix E, no. 6, below.

I have not attempted here to enter into the much-vexed question of the authorship of *Henry VIII*, but it might be suggested that a closer examination of the uses to which the play's author[s] put the *Life* (a subject which to my knowledge has never been fully investigated) might cast additional light on the composition of the play itself.

² Churchyard perhaps worked from Stowe, but his poem contains many phrases that are direct from the *Life*. Thus he speaks of Wolsey's father as 'a plain poor honest man' and makes the lamenting cardinal speak of the time when 'degree of school I had/And Bachelor was, and I a little lad.' See the reprint of his poem in the Temple Classics edition of the *Life of Wolsey*, pp. 265-6 *et passim*.

³ For these writers and their use of Cavendish, see Wiley, op. cit., pp. 132-8. To their works may be added Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle of the Kings of England* (1643), a seventeenth-century imitation of Suetonius which draws upon Cavendish quite heavily in its summary of Wolsey's career (Sigs. Bbb2^v-Eee^v).

Lord Herbert, whose four folio volumes of collections for his *Life* are now the property of Jesus College, Oxford,¹ possessed a manuscript of Cavendish's work which he used with considerable discrimination. But by 1649 there were printed copies of the *Life of Wolsey* available to the general reader.

The edition of Cavendish which was issued from the press of William Sheares in 1641 has occasioned a good deal of comment from critics and historians.² Sheares's quarto volume, which appeared with the title, *The Negotiations of Thomas Woolsey, The great Cardinal of England, Containing his life and Death*, etc., was undoubtedly issued as a propaganda piece in the Puritan campaign against Archbishop Laud which had been raging openly since the suppression of the Star Chamber in 1640. It is a drastically foreshortened version of Cavendish's narrative, though it does not, as Marie Schütt (p. 143) notes, disturb the major outlines of his *Life*. One can scarcely help sympathizing with those early editors like Wordsworth and Singer, who, comparing the manuscripts with the printed copies, were often led to express their scorn for whoever was responsible for that first edition.³

The surprising thing about this controversy over the merits of the 1641 edition is that no one seems to have noticed that there were in fact *two* editions of the *Life* in the early 1640s, one of them (Sheares's) published with its printer's name and the date '1641' and another, with a different title page and no date, issued 'for the good of the Commonwealth'.⁴ This second quarto edition, which is an entire resetting of Sheares's volume, has the following title page in the British Museum copy (Press Mark, 275. g. 27):

The/ Negotiations/ of/ Thomas Woolsey,/ The great Cardinall of England, Containing his life and death, Viz./ 1. The Originall of his Promotion./ 2. The continuance in his Magnificence./ 3. His Fall, Death, and Buriall./ [Rule, broken] Composed by One of his owne Servants, being his Gentleman-Vsher./ [Rule, broken] With many Errours Corrected, and some/ Additions Inlarged./ [Rule, broken]

¹ On deposit at the Bodleian Library.

² Their opinions and judgements are neatly summarized in Marie Schütt's 'Die englische Biographik der Tudor Zeit', *Britannica*, i (Hamburg, 1930), 142. She finds them all guilty of 'ein merkwürdiges Fehlurteil'.

³ Wiley conjectures that William Prynne had a hand in the preparation of the book, a suggestion that need not conflict with Miss Schütt's attempt to prove that the manuscript upon which it is based was once in Bacon's possession.

⁴ Sheares's edition is Wing, C 1619, but Wing did not record the other edition.

Whereunto Is added a Parallel between *Thomas Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.* / [Rule, broken] London:/ Printed for the good of the Commonwealth.

Where Sheares's edition stops with the end of the *Life* this copy adds a verse epitaph on Wolsey (Sigs. 0₄–0₄v) and one paragraph (0₄v) entitled 'A true Description or rather a Parallel betweene Cardinall Woolsey, Arch-Bishop of York; and *William Laud*, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, etc.'

This concluding paragraph is evidently a summary of the Puritan tract entitled *A True Description or rather a Parallel betweene Cardinall Woolsey*, etc.¹ which, in some copies of the 'for the good of the Commonwealth' edition, was appended to the *Life* itself after the verse epitaph.² It would thus seem that the 'for the good of the Commonwealth' edition represents a clandestine (and perhaps pirated) version of Sheares's original publication in which no specific parallels had been drawn between Wolsey and Laud. Since the verse epitaph on Wolsey in this second edition has not, to my knowledge, been previously reprinted, I give it here in full:

What State Geometry can take or find
 The large dimensions of great Woolsies mind?
 Whose Cedar-honours growing tall and straite,
 Aspir'd to over-top the King and State;
 While his ambition did in Oxford reare
 A Colledge, on whose Gates he did not feare
 To mount above the power of Soveraignty;
 And to create himselfe an upstart thing,
 Whose Clergy-greatnesse should transcend a King.
 While that he forged in his working braine
 Such cunning plots, whereby he did obtaine
 Possessions of the Kings heart, by whose Grace
 He freely was invested in the place
 Of Yorks Arch-Bishopricke, and made Counsellour
 Of State, then rais'd to be high Chancellour
 Of the great Seale of England; and withall
 The Pope advanced him a Cardinall.

Thus did he sit a while to be Times wonder
 Secure in honour, fearing not Joves Thunder,
 Nor dreading that his honours could bee broke;
 And rent asunder by Fates raging stroke;

¹ Reprinted by Singer (1825 ed., II, 230–43).

² For example, in the Bodleian copy (Gough Oxon. 147). Another copy in that library (4° B. 64 Jur.) does not contain the 'True Description' although the last page of the epitaph has the catchwords 'a Parallel'.

Raigning in height of glory from low Birth
 To rivall Heaven, and affright the Earth:
 For wheresoever Woolsies name was heard
 In England, it was both ador'd and fear'd.
 But angry Fortune that exhal'd and rais'd
 By her owne power this Meteor, which long blazed
 Bright as a Comet, cloath'd now with a frowne
 Her threatening brow, and quickly cast him downe.
 The King tooke off some honours, that he might
 Both know his greatnessse, and affright
 His growing pride; which fledg'd with a strong wing
 Did strive to fly a pitch above the King.
 And being summond now to meeete the danger,
 Of making Answer to the Kings just anger;
 His guilty Conscience made his Judge, did cause
 Poyson to execute the power of Lawes:
 And though from this great Clergy Phenix spring
 Many great Bishops, Heaven down can bring
 Their usurp'd T'itles, and can make them have
 Before their death an undeplored Grave:
 For though this Cardinall did in greatnessse trust,
 His Fame doth now lye buried with his dust.

Sheares's 1641 edition was reprinted in 1667,¹ 1706,² and 1708³ without any change in the text and it was not until the nineteenth century that a better text was offered to the public. Since the time of Wordsworth and Singer there have been numerous popular editions, none of them with any final textual authority.

APPENDIX E

The Secondary Manuscripts

The following catalogue of the extant secondary manuscripts of the *Life of Wolsey* should not be considered exhaustive, but it will

¹ *The Life and Death of Thomas Woolsey*, etc., London, for Dorman Newman.

² *The Memoirs of that Great Favourite, Cardinal Woolsey*, London, for B. Bragg. The Bodleian copy is Gough Oxon. 132.

³ Really a re-issue, with a new title page attributing the work to Sir William Cavendish, of Bragg's 1706 edition. Bragg had probably been influenced by White Kennet's sermon on the death of the Duke of Devonshire in which the *Life* was ascribed to George's brother for the first time. For a full discussion of this edition see Hunter's article (in Singer, 1825 ed., II, lxvi-lxvii). There is no copy of the 1708 issue in the British Museum; the Bodleian copy, the only one I have seen, is Gough Oxon. 12.

perhaps serve as a fairly comprehensive check-list for future students of the strange fortunes which overtook Cavendish's work.¹ I have included a description of all the secondary manuscripts which I have been able to discover or which have been brought to my notice by the helpful investigations of others. More extensive researches than I have been able to undertake might well reveal additional copies which have been preserved in the collections of private individuals or in the continental libraries;² the present list should, however, furnish a nearly complete guide to the manuscripts in the principal libraries of Great Britain and the United States.

The thirty-one³ manuscripts my investigations have brought to light range in date from the 1570s to the eighteenth century. The latest of them (Christ Church, CLV) was transcribed, as its frontispiece tells us, 'by the care and at the expense of the Rev. Mr. John Blackbourn, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge', and was presented to Wolsey's Oxford College by his widow on 10 December 1741. The earliest⁴ takes us back to a date not long after Cavendish completed his autograph copy (1558). Several of the manuscripts⁵ were transcribed after the *Life* had appeared in print in 1641 for the first time, a fact that is not at all remarkable in view of the omissions and corruptions in that edition. Most copies, however, date from Elizabethan and early Stuart times, those years in which Cavendish's *Life* was not available at all in printed form, except for the extracts made from it in the chronicles of the period.

To the student who makes a more minute examination of the

¹ The Rev. Joseph Hunter remarked in 1815 that 'Scarcely any work of this magnitude, composed after the invention of printing, has been so often transcribed' ('Who Wrote Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*', in Singer, 1825 ed., II, xxvii). At the time in which he wrote, Hunter knew of some fifteen manuscripts of the *Life*, not counting the autograph manuscript, which did not come to Singer's attention until 1821.

² It might have seemed likely that the Elizabethan Recusants, attracted by Cavendish's pro-Catholic interpretation of the reign of Henry VIII, would have made use of his work in their own accounts of the period. But I have not been able to find any evidence of Cavendish's influence on either Harpsfield's *Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica* or Campion's *Brevis Narratio de Divortio Henrici VIII*, which were printed together at Douai in 1622. It may be noted, however, that Cavendish's sympathetic attitude towards Wolsey would not have appealed to the Catholic apologists any more than it did to their Protestant opponents.

³ Thirty-two if Arundel 152 is included in the total. See below, no. 14a.

⁴ Either Douce 363 or the York Minster manuscript. See below, nos. 2 and 26.

⁵ Christ Church (CLV) and the Folger manuscript (below, nos. 16 and 27). Possibly too one of the Trinity College, Dublin, manuscripts (below, no. 22).

relationships between these secondary manuscripts than I have been able to do, a good deal of valuable information about Elizabethan scribes and scriptoria will inevitably be revealed. The very possession of one of these copies (for almost all of them contain in full Cavendish's attacks on Anne Boleyn) must have been tantamount to treasonable conduct during Elizabeth's reign.¹ Yet the manuscripts continued to be transcribed, several of them, as the anti-Catholic glosses show, by or for men who were ardently sympathetic to the Protestant establishment. Lord Burghley, Elizabeth's High Treasurer, possessed one of the manuscripts (British Museum Add. MS. 48066) and Archbishop Laud was later to present his copy to the Bodleian Library. There is no better contemporary testimony to the esteem in which Cavendish's work was held than this large group of manuscripts that has come down to us.

Yet none of the secondary manuscripts² goes back directly to the autograph itself. All of them omit a long section of the *Life* (61/20–62/30 in the present edition) which describes the boar hunt in France and the 'book' published there against the cardinal. Occasionally a scribe will try to bridge the gap in his original by filling in a few details of his own, but in most cases the lacuna in the original is quite openly acknowledged and a page or two left blank in the copy. It thus appears that all of these manuscripts go back ultimately to a lost original which did not contain the missing lines. Until this manuscript comes to light, we can do no more than conjecture about its contents. The missing lines, which would occupy approximately two pages, or both sides of one leaf in a manuscript of average size, do not contain any material that might have been considered 'superstitious' or 'papistical' and there seems to be no other obvious reason why a scribe should have chosen to exclude them.³ I can only

¹ Did the search that was made of John Stowe's house on 21 February 1569 turn up a copy of Cavendish among the antiquary's books and papers? Stowe certainly owned a copy of the *Life* at some time before 1598 (below, no. 19) and he must have had access to one before 1580 when he printed extracts from Cavendish in his *Chronicles of England*. The account of the search in 1569 is preserved in British Museum MS. Lansdowne 27, art. 37, fol. 36 (printed by Arber, *Stationers' Register*, I, 484). See also A. C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, p. 39.

² Dugdale 28 (below, no. 3), the only secondary manuscript that contains Cavendish's poems, is a possible exception.

³ There are several compressions and omissions in the secondary manuscripts that can be ascribed to this cause. Thus Cavendish's account of the French king healing his subjects who were diseased with the king's evil (53/28–54/20) is reduced in the secondary manuscripts to something like the following (from the Cambridge manuscript, below, no. 23): 'Thus continued my Lo: and the King in Aymens, the space of two weekes and

suggest that, by some means or other, the page which contained the passage was accidentally torn or lost from the manuscript and that it was this missing manuscript which formed the basic copy for all the extant secondary versions.

But even if these manuscripts had preserved the boar-hunt passage it would not be difficult to demonstrate that the text they offer must stand at a considerable remove from that of the autograph itself. In addition to this major omission, and many minor ones of less significance, the scribes of the secondary manuscripts for the most part treat their original quite freely. Grammar and spelling are, as might be expected, progressively modernized, but many changes in phrasing and occasionally entirely new readings are also introduced into the text. I have not attempted a collation of the thirty manuscripts—which would be necessary if any final certainty about their relationships is to be achieved—but it appears that the transcribers, most of whom, judging by the unevenness of their hands and the mistakes they make, were not professional scribes, did not greatly concern themselves with verbal accuracy as long as the sense of the original could be ascertained. Since this bibliography does not attempt to discuss in detail the variants in the manuscripts, I should like to cite the following passage as a typical instance of the corruption that has overtaken their texts. The reader may compare this version of Cavendish's account of England after the divorce with that in the autograph manuscript (above, 78/14-79/7).

ffor soothe it is a world to consider the desirous will of wilfull princes when they be set and earnestly bent to have their willes fulfilled wherin no reasonable persuasions will suffice and how litle they regardre the daungerous sequele that maye ensue aswell to them selves, as to all their subiectes And aboue all thinges, there is nothinge that makith them more wilfull then carnall love and sensuall affection of voluptuous desire and pleasure of their bodies as was in dede in this ⟨s⟩ case wherein nothinge could be of greater experiance then to see what inuentions were surmised, what lawes were enacted what costlye edifications of noble and auncient monasteries were ouerthrownen what diuersitie of opinions then rose, what executions were then comytted, howe manie noble Clerkes and good men were then for the same put to deathe And what alteration of good auncient and wholsome lawes customes, and charitable more, consulting and feasting each others [sic] diuers tymes in Aymens, then was my Lo: and the King at Masse, the w^h receaved both the Sacram^t and vpon our Lady day the assumpcion My Lord said Masse before the Regent and the Queene of Navarre, and gaue them the Sacram^t & there the King dressed a number of sickle folkes, etc.' (f. 26).

foundations were turned from the releife of the poore, to utter destruction and desolation almoste to the subuersion of this noble realme/ It is sure to muche pitie to heare or vnderstand the thinges that have since that tyme chaunced and happened to this region the proufe thereof hathe taught vs all inglishe men the experience so lamentable of all good men to be considered. If eys be not blinde men may see, if eares be not stopped they maye heare and if pitie be not exiled the inward man may lament The Sequele of this pernitious and inordinate love although it lasted but a whyle, the plague thereof is not yet ceased which our lord quenche and take his indignation from vs.

(British Museum Add. MS. 4233, ff. 62^v-3, ca. 1600)

I. Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford¹

1. MS. Bodley 966 (Sum. Cat. 3033)

Large folio, paper, 17"×11½", bound in red morocco and gold, ca. 1610. A collection of various items from the reign of Elizabeth. The folio runs to xxiv plus 684 pages, all of which are numbered. The *Life* occupies pp. 93–193, with the break in the text coming on p. 125. Roper's *Life of More* follows Cavendish's *Life* on pp. 193–220. This manuscript was presented to the Bodleian in 1620 by Sir Peter Manwood (for whom see below, no. 19).

2. MS. Douce 363 (Sum. Cat. 21938)

Folio, paper, 12½"×8¾", with seven illustrations (ff. 52^v [2], 57, 58, 71, 76, and 91), two of which were reproduced by Singer (1825 ed., I, 181 and 221). The manuscript is a collection of various items, many of them conjectured by Douce in a frontispiece note to have been written by Dr. John Dee. All of it, however, seems to be in one hand, that of Stephen Batman (d. 1584), who signed his transcription of the *Life of Wolsey* (ff. 48–93) on 1 September 1578. The break in the text is on f. 62. Batman's marginalia express patriotic Protestant views, for example (f. 60), on Francis I curing the king's evil, 'The kinges of England doth cure the same dizease: and therefore no less christian'. This is one of the earliest², if not the earliest, of the

¹ The manuscripts are numbered individually and consecutively from 1 to 30 throughout the catalogue, but I have arranged them in groups according to their present location. It may be noted that the Bodleian, which in addition to its eight secondary manuscripts, also possesses a photostatic copy of the autograph manuscript (MS. Facs. d. 82), is the best single library in which the student may investigate the peregrinations of Cavendish's *Life*.

² The York Minster manuscript may be earlier. See the note on no. 26, below.

secondary manuscripts. The first page of the text, f. 48, is used in the present edition to replace the missing page in Egerton 2402.

3. MS. Dugdale 28 (Sum. Cat. 6518)

Folio, paper, $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$, ca. 1550–1660, a collection of items in various hands. The eighth item is an abridgement (ff. 220–8) of Cavendish's *Life* and this is followed (ff. 228v–64) by his poems, the only extant copy of them outside of the autograph manuscript. The whole manuscript has iv plus 370 leaves. The index in Dugdale's hand (f. 219) assigns the *Life* and poems to a 'Thomas Cavendish'. Two of the poems are signed 'q^d E.C.'

This interesting manuscript poses many problems that I have not been able to solve. It would seem that the scribe, whose handwriting can be dated fairly early, had access either to the autograph or to a copy of it which also contained Cavendish's poems. A long and garbled prose passage from the *Life* is inserted in the poems immediately following the legend of Cromwell (f. 239). In addition, the manuscript contains a stanza (from the poem on the Duke of Suffolk) which is not in the autograph. It runs as follows (f. 260v):

To the great sclaund^r & blot of his name,
his credyt ys lost and so ys his estymacion,
and he confused, alas he was to blame
hymselfe to overthrowe, and all his generacion
against god nowe howe can he make purgacion
y^t so against nature vnnaturally hath wrought,
destroying all his bloud & brought hymselfe to naught/

On the other hand, the scribe omits, from the final epitaph on Queen Mary, four stanzas which refer directly to Rome and to 'Popish practices'. These are the stanzas beginning 'Hyghe prieste of Rome', 'Which late restored', 'Whan sacred auльтers', and 'O Virgin Mary' (Singer, 1825 ed., II, 166–9).

4. Gough Oxon. 22¹

This is actually a copy of the 1667 edition (London, for Dorman Newman, 8vo) which has been entirely revised and corrected in a fine italic hand. The fly leaf tells us that it was in 1676 the property of a 'Mary Coney' and that it came into the hands of the collector William Herbert in 1773. In addition, the fly leaf

¹ See below, p. 288.

contains a list of previous editions and a short account of some of the extant manuscripts which had come to Herbert's notice.

The scribe who made the long series of corrections worked from a manuscript which, as his marginal notations tell us, contained seventy-four folios. An examination of the secondary manuscripts shows that the copy from which he took his revisions was in all probability Harley 428 (below, no 12), a manuscript of seventy-four folios that, like Gough Oxon. 22, marks the break in the text on ff. 24^v-5. To illustrate the meticulousness with which the corrections in the printed copy were made, I quote the opening lines of the text: 1667 edition: 'It seemeth no wisdom to credit every light tale, blazed about in the mouthe of vulgars, for we dayly, etc.' Gough Oxon. 22 corrects this to: 'Mee seemes it weare no wisdom to credytt every light tale, blaised about by the blasphemous mouthe of the rude commonaltie, for we dayly, etc.'

5. MS. Jones 12 (Sum. Cat. 8919)

Folio, paper, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ "×7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", 194ff., ca. 1650, contains only the *Life*. A good scribe's copy. The break in the text occurs on f. 68, where the scribe has noted 'Here was something left out of the originall'.

6. MS. Jones 14 (Sum. Cat. 8921)

Folio, paper, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ "×8", iii plus 365ff., contains five items, of which the *Life* is number one (ff. 1-97). The manuscript, which contains many marginal comments and attempts to bridge the gap in the text on f. 33^v, was transcribed by Thomas Woodcock, as his signature on f. 97 attests. Woodcock, an Elizabethan printer, was one of the men who joined together to produce the great Holinshed folio of 1587, a work that makes use of Cavendish's *Life* in considerable detail. He died (Arber, *Stationers' Register*, II, 267) 'about the xxiith of Aprill last past' (1593).

7. MS. Laud misc. 591.

Folio, paper, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ "×8", 128ff., contains only the *Life*. The break in the text, which the scribe has attempted to fill in, occurs on f. 84. A frontispiece picture of Wolsey is an engraving by Elstrack, the same as that which appears in the 1667 edition. There are many marginal glosses and underlined passages in the text. This manuscript was once the property of Archbishop Laud, who presented it to the Bodleian in 1636. In November 1951 an endleaf was raised to reveal the name 'William Langham' and the date 1613. This is

undoubtedly the same Langham who transcribed the manuscript and left the following inscription on f. 128v:

Ex manuscripto Rogeri Manwood olim/
capitalis baronis de Scaccario dominæ
Elizabethæ nuper Reginæ Angliæ
fideliter extract.
Per me Guilielmum Langham
Notarium publicum.

Sir Roger Manwood (1525–92) was made Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer on 17 November 1578 and held that office until he was arraigned for bribery in April 1592. He died on 14 December of that year. His eldest son, Sir Peter Manwood, possessed at least two copies of the *Life* in manuscript. See above, no. 1, and below, no. 19.

8. MS. Rawlinson D.104

Quarto, paper, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ "×6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", 118 ff., contains only the *Life* with William Marshall's engraving of Wolsey as a frontispiece on f. 1. The handwriting is ca. 1600 and the manuscript, according to a frontispiece inscription, 'erat ex libris Georgii Berkley'. The gap in the text occurs between ff. 71 and 78 and a later hand has transcribed the table of contents and other material from the 1641 edition into the blank pages. There are a few marginal glosses.

II. *Manuscripts in the British Museum*

9. Additional MS. 4233

Folio, paper, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ "×7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", 186 ff., ca. 1600–50. F. 2 contains a short life of the author, 'William Cavendish', written by Dr. Thomas Birch in 1759. This ascription of the *Life* to William is contradicted by the title of the work itself (f. 4v), which assigns it to George. The manuscript contains only the *Life*, with the break in the text coming on ff. 49v–50. A later hand has tried to fill up the gap by summarizing. This manuscript is described in Ayscough's Catalogue of the British Museum Manuscripts (1782), I, 86.

10. Additional MS. 48066.¹

Folio, paper, vellum wrapper, 12"×8", contains a series of tracts, ca. 1600, with many of the headings in Burghley's hand. The *Life*

¹ Formerly MS. Yelverton 72, in the collection of the Calthorpe family. For a further description, see Harpsfield's *More* (ed. Chambers, E.E.T.S., o.s., 186), p. xvii.

occupies ff. 90–165, with the break in the text on f. 114. Harpsfield's *Life of More* is also included in this manuscript (ff. 319–73). The contents of the manuscript are described in the Appendix to the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. (1870), p. 43.

11. MS. Harley 35

Folio, paper, $12\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$, ca. 1600. The manuscript contains some 48 items, of which the *Life* is number 32 (ff. 342–51). The text is fairly good as far as it goes, but it breaks off on f. 351 with the words 'well was that nobleman and gent' that could preferre a tall yeoman to his seruice. Now . . .' (18/23–6 in the present edition). This manuscript is described in the 1808 Catalogue of the Harleian Collection, I, 5.

12. MS. Harley 428

Folio, paper, $13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$, late sixteenth century, 74ff., contains only the *Life*, followed by a number of blank leaves. The break in the text occurs on ff. 24v–5, there is another short gap on f. 13. It was apparently from this manuscript that the corrections and revisions in Gough Oxon. 22 were taken (see above, no. 4). Harley acquired this manuscript from John Strype (Harleian Catalogue 1808, I, 251) who had obtained it from a 'Mr. Woodward' (Harcian Miscellany, 1810 edition, V, 126).

13. MS. Lansdowne 904

Folio, paper, $11\frac{1}{8}'' \times 6\frac{7}{8}''$, ca. 1600, in very poor condition, 111ff. Some of the text has been lost at both the beginning and the end in this manuscript. It begins (f. 1) with the words 'Bedes, The master of the wardropp and .10. persons in the Landery, etc.' and ends (f. 111v) with 'soe I would quoth the Lord Percie but in this matter I have gon. . . .' But the last two leaves actually belong to an early part of the *Life* and the text really ends on f. 109v with the words 'Sir quoth My Lord I trowe that M^r Kingston is Constable of the Tower Yea what. . .' (172/4–5 in the present edition). The break in the text at the boar-hunt passage occurs on f. 43. This manuscript is described in the 1819 Catalogue of the Lansdowne Collection, Part II, p. 226.

14. MS. Sloane 848

Quarto, paper, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$, apparently an early seventeenth-century commonplace book, which, on ff. 14–14v, contains a series of notes

taken from Cavendish's *Life*. Evidently the compiler never completed his memoranda, for the last entry reads 'The k. came in a Maske like Sheapards'. The manuscript contains a wide variety of notes and jottings including extracts from 'the life of Iohn Picus Erle of Mirandula out of S^r Tho. Moore' and a series of skeleton plots for plays.

14a. MS. Arundel 152

Folio, paper, 15¹/₂"×6¹/₂", a collection of materials for a life of Bishop Fisher. The latest date that can be assigned to this manuscript is 8 December 1575 (see Chambers's *Harpsfield*, p. cxxiii). Although not strictly a copy of Cavendish's *Life* this manuscript contains long extracts taken from it; I mention it here because it may well be the earliest instance of Cavendish's influence on other writers. The passages from Cavendish that were ultimately used in the *Life of Bishop Fisher* are carefully noted in Van Ortroy's edition of the latter work, *Analecta Bollandiana*, x (1891), 121–365, and xii (1893), 97–281. The compiler of the collection or one of his informants certainly knew someone who was closely associated with the cardinal in the last months of his life. The following note, it would seem, could have come only from Cavendish's book, from the gentleman-usher himself, or, possibly, from someone who, like him, had been present at Wolsey's death:

And yet (god be thanked) I haue credibly byn infourmed by sundry good & [wise] 'credible' personages that weare abowt him & knewe mth of his secretes, [doynges], that after he once espyed the sequele of his doynges, he lyved in great sorrow & repentance for t_he same all his lyfe after. And being at Yorke a yeare & more before his death in the kinges heavy displeasure, he there lamented all the whole that euer he flattered so mth wth the kynge and neglected the displeasure of all mighty god. and to that effect he also sent a message to the kinge a little before his death by S^r Wyllm Kyngstone then constable of the tower. desyring him for goddes sake to procede no further in this busynes of his dyvorce what so euer he had said to him before, but rather to arme & prepare him self against those horrible heresies duly entring into his realme, lesse by overmth negligence in repressing them at the first, he should en_daunger him self & his wholl realme so farre, that at last the sore might be growen incurable. where of he shewed the example to be yet fresh in the realmes of Boheme & hungary. Many other like wordes he vttered to that effect wherein his repentance largely appeared.

(f. 25, cancellations in angular brackets)

It is extremely unfortunate that this very valuable manuscript was damaged in a fire at the binder's on 10 July 1865. Of the original 332 leaves only 313 remain, many of these, in Van Ortroy's words, 'dans un pitoyable état'.

III. Manuscripts in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford

15. MS. CLIV

Folio, paper, $11\frac{1}{8}'' \times 7''$, ca. 1600, 172ff. The break in the text occurs on f. 57, where the scribe has written 'heere was some thing left out in the originall'.

16. MS. CLV

Folio, paper, $13'' \times 8''$, 115ff., early eighteenth century, presented to Christ Church, according to its inscription, on 10 December 1741, by the widow of the Rev. Mr. John Blackbourn, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, at whose care and expense it was transcribed. The break in the text occurs on f. 20^v and on f. 52^v the scribe has interpolated a long passage from the 1667 edition.

IV. Manuscripts preserved at Delapre Abbey, Northampton

17. MS. Finch Hatton 135¹

Folio, paper, $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8''$, ca. 1600. The text is incomplete, ending with the words 'between whom was like to ensue great murther unless some mean might be used to redress the inconvenience that was like to endure and daily grow' (145/3-6, in the present edition). There is the usual break at the boar-hunt passage. The manuscript contains a few notes in the hand of Christopher, Lord Hatton (1632-1706).

18. MS. Fitzwilliam (Milton) Misc. Vol. 51

Folio, paper, $12'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$, ca. 1600. This manuscript also has the gap at the boar-hunt passage. The beginning of the text is missing and a good deal of the first quire, so Mr. King informs me, 'has been well chewed by mice in the right-hand margin'. The first words now surviving are 'in crimson velvet with a saddle of the same and gilt stirrups' (23/32-3 in the present edition). The text of the *Life* is followed by seven documents which relate to Wolsey and to the divorce trial.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. P. J. King, Archivist of the Northamptonshire Record Office, for the description of this and the following manuscript.

V. Manuscripts in Lambeth Palace Library

19. MS. Lambeth 179

Folio, partly parchment and partly paper, $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{3}{8}''$, 313 ff., a collection of various items. The *Life* occupies ff. 246–313v. The *Life of More* by Ro: Ba: is on ff. 199–243. The handwriting of the Cavendish *Life* is ca. 1575–1600. The break in the text occurs on ff. 266v–68. On f. 313v is the following inscription:

My book. An^o: [16] 1598./ Pe: Manwood.
 Wrytten by my man Rich. I.
 borrowed y^e originall of M^r Iohn
 Burrowes/ John Stow/.

Thus this manuscript belonged both to Stowe and to Sir Peter Manwood (d. 1625), the son of Sir Roger Manwood who, it will be recalled, was the owner of the manuscript from which William Langham copied MS. Laud 591 (above, no. 7). Sir Peter Manwood also possessed MS. Bodley 966 (above no. 1) which he gave to the Bodleian in 1620. I have not been able to identify the 'John Burrowes' to whom Stowe refers. Lambeth 179 was adopted as a basic text by Wordsworth in his edition of the *Life (Ecclesiastical Biography*, 4th ed., 1853, I, 461–672). It is described in the 1930 Lambeth Catalogue, p. 282.

20. MS. Lambeth 250

Folio, paper, $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{3}{8}''$, 475 ff., a collection of 31 items, of which Cavendish's *Life* is no. 4 (ff. 73–154v). The break in the text occurs on f. 100. Several of the items that precede and follow the *Life* are dated 1586 and were transcribed by the same hand. It is thus likely that the Cavendish manuscript is also of this date. On f. 1 of this manuscript is written 'This boke ys myn/ Iohn fford'. This manuscript was also used by Wordsworth in his edition. Its contents are described on p. 35 of the 1812 Lambeth catalogue.

VI. Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin¹

21. Trinity College MS. No. 180 (Press Mark B. 2. 12)

Folio, paper, $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{3}{8}''$, a composite volume of works, mainly theological, copied about 1600. The *Life* occupies ff. 284–321 and omits the whole of the boar-hunt passage from the words 'Then the

¹ I am indebted to Mr. H. W. Parke, Librarian of Trinity College, for the description of this and the following manuscript.

king returned, etc.' to 'They be matters so slanderous' inclusive (60/12–63/24 in the present edition). The manuscript seems to have come to the library from Archbishop Ussher (1581–1656).

22. Trinity College MS. No. 731 (Press Mark G. 4. 9)

Folio, paper, $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$, a collection of five items, all of them written in a neat hand of the middle seventeenth century. The *Life* runs from f. 55 to f. 174 and, like the edition of 1641, is divided into twenty chapters. Mr. Parke was not able to compare the text with that of the 1641 edition, but it appears likely that the manuscript was copied after that date, even if it is not a direct transcript of the edition itself. The manuscript was presented to the library by Hieronymous Alexander in 1674.

VII. *Other Manuscripts in Great Britain*

23. Cambridge University Library MS. Mm. III. 6

Folio, paper, $12\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8''$, early seventeenth century, 86ff., contains only the *Life*, with the break in the text on f. 29v. This manuscript has many corrupt readings, giving, for example, the astounding figure of '1800' for the number of persons in Wolsey's household. On the fly leaf is written 'From the library of Richard Holdsworth, D.D., Master of Emmanuel College. 1664' and on fol. 1 the name 'Tho: Nott'.

24. College of Arms MS. Arundel 51

Quarto, paper, $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{5}{8}''$, a collection of miscellaneous items. The Cavendish *Life* is separately numbered and occupies 92 folios with the break in the text coming on f. 32. There are a few marginal glosses and one cancelled folio (92) which repeats part of f. 85. The manuscript was given by Henry Duke of Norfolk in 1678.

25. The Duke of Northumberland's MS. (at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland) No. 466¹

Folio, paper, $11'' \times 6\frac{7}{8}''$, 134ff., contains only the *Life*, with the break in the text occurring on f. 43v. The handwriting is ca. 1600 and there are a few marginal glosses which refer the reader to passages in the 1641 edition. A prefatory note in the hand of Bishop Percy compares the manuscript with the seventeenth-century printed copies.

¹ With the Duke's permission, this manuscript has been examined from the microfilm deposited in the Library of Congress.

26. York Minster Library MS. XVI D. 1^a.

Folio, paper, $12\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8\frac{3}{8}''$, 70 ff., contains the *Life* only with the break on f. 20. This manuscript was formerly the property of Toby Matthew (d. 1628), Archbishop of York, whose signature appears on the first page of the text. Miss Brunskill, Assistant Librarian at York Minster, tells me that this signature is almost certainly in Matthew's youthful handwriting, i.e. it corresponds to the signature he used before 1570. If her characterization of the signature is correct, this manuscript is almost certainly the earliest of the extant secondary manuscripts. There are a few marginal glosses and Matthew has again signed his name at the end of the *Life* on f. 70^v. Wordsworth took some readings from this manuscript for his edition of Cavendish.

VIII. *Manuscripts in the United States*27. Folger MS. (Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.)
No. 759.1¹

Folio, paper, $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{7}{8}''$, 53 ff., contains the *Life* only with the break on f. 17^v. This manuscript bears the inscription 'Roger Bradshaigh' and the date 1659 (erroneously given in De Ricci's catalogue as '1569').

28. Harvard MS. (Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.) MS. Eng. 764

Folio, paper, $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$, 109 ff., contains the *Life* only with the break on ff. 35–6^v. The handwriting is *ca.* 1600. This manuscript was formerly MS. 6930 in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps and was acquired by the Harvard Library on 3 May 1946.

29. Huntington MS. (H. E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California) HM 182

Folio, paper, $11'' \times 7\frac{1}{8}''$, 123 ff., contains the *Life* only and marks the break at the boar-hunt passage with a blank page. The script is *ca.* 1600. The name 'Henrie Farleigh' is stamped on each cover. According to De Ricci, Farleigh is presumably to be identified with writer connected with St. Paul's from 1616 to 1622. This manuscript was in Singer's possession at the time when he prepared his edition of the *Life*. Prior to his acquisition of it, it was among the duplicates in the Duke of Norfolk's library (see Singer's description, 1825 ed., I, xv, note).

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Giles E. Dawson, Curator of Manuscripts at the Folger Library, for the description of this manuscript.

30. Yale MS. (Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.)
MS. Vault Shelves Cavendish

Quarto, paper, $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6''$, 119 ff., ca. 1600–50. The *Life* runs from f. 1 to f. 90 with the break on f. 31v. Ff. 91–119v contain the last three chapters of Cresacre More's *Life of More*, first published in 1626.¹

[Additional Note on Gough Oxon. 22. (See p. 279)]

Mr. N. R. Ker has drawn my attention to the alterations and insertions in this book. They are undoubtedly in the hand of Humfrey Wanley, who, as is shown by the following extract from one of his letters to Dr. Arthur Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford, once proposed to write a life of Wolsey:

As to your conferring with Mr. Dean of Christ-church about my Intention of publishing an account of the Life of Cardinal Wolsey, I return you many thanks. But if my intentions shall have the Honor of his Approbation. I shall go much farther than the setting of Cavendish in his own true light. For that Author was not made privy to very many important Affairs which concern'd his Master, or pass'd through his hands; and which have not been fully set forth (for ought that I have yet found) to this day. When the Parliament sitts, I will not fail to wait on Mr. Dean with my book, and have the benefit of his Advice thereon. . . . M^r Bagford at his return from Oxford, told me that he [Dr. Hudson, Bodley's librarian] has an MS relating to Cardinal Wolsey, but what it was he could not say, only that the Doctor was pleas'd to show an Inclination of lending it to me if there should be occasion. I would gladly know what it contains, and then I can easily guess whether it will afford any fresh matter. . .²

J. A. W. B.]

¹ Since this appendix was written I have learned of the existence of another manuscript of the *Life*, although I have not been able to discover its present whereabouts. On 30 March 1936 the '*Life of Cardinal Wolsey*' was sold at Sotheby's from the collection of Major Q. E. Gurney, D.L., of Bawdeswell Hall, Norfolk. The catalogue, in which the manuscript is Item 90, describes it as a 'Manuscript on paper. 194 leaves. Not quite perfect at end. Unbound. From the collection of Sir H. Spelman.' This description does not tally with that of any of the thirty manuscripts listed above. It was bought by L. Chubb.

² Bodl. MS. Ballard 13, f. 119 (10 Nov., 1708).

GLOSSARY

The glossary is not a complete concordance, but contains words occurring in the *Life* the forms or meanings of which are not easily recognizable. No attempt has been made to record such normal Elizabethan variants as *y* for *i*, *s* for *c* or *c* for *s*, *c* for *t* in *-cion*, *en-* for *in-*, *the* for *thee*, *than* for *then* or *then* for *than*, etc. The reduced definite article *th-*, which is often combined in the text with a following noun or pronoun beginning with a vowel (as *thexpectacion*, *theon* 'the one') is ignored in the glossary except in *thether* 'the other'.

Entries marked with an asterisk indicate a form or sense not recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

abate *v.* bring down, reduce 29/2,
etc.

abhomynable *adj.* abominable
86/14, *etc.*

abiecte *n.* outcast, degraded person
172/24.

accompote *v.* account, reckon up
22/26, *etc.*

accordyng *adv.* accordingly 148/13.

accustumably *adv.* customarily
151/10.

accustomed *ppl. a.* customary
167/9.

actes *n. pl.* saintly deeds 35/22.

admonysshed (*of*) *pp.* warned
against errors 48/14.

aduauncyng *pr. p.* moving forward
121/16.

aduertised *pp.* notified, informed
23/6, *etc.*

adustum *adj.* 173/34. *See n.*

advysement *n.* observation 27/28;
discretion 33/2.

affecte *n.* passion, lust 75/5.

affiaunce *n.* trust, reliance 96/3, *etc.*

Agnus *n.* Agnus Dei 67/2.

alhalouday, alhaloutyd *n.* feast of
All Saints, 1 November 104/26,

25, *etc.*

alie *n.* alley 127/27.

allewer *v.* allure, win over 149/27.

allowed *ppl. a.* approved 75/18.

allowyng *pr. p.* accepting as true
48/11.

almery, almosory *n.* almonry
19/23, 162/6.

almosyner *n.* almoner 12/14.

alternatly *adv.* in alternate order
64/29.

ambassette *n.* embassy 7/23, *etc.*

***ambassitorie** *n.* ambassador 77/12.

annele *v.* anneal, anoint 181/27.

anowghe *adv.* enough 130/28.

apertly *adv.* manifestly, clearly
128/6.

apon *prep.* upon 150/26.

apparitor *n.* officer of an ecclesiastical court 17/22, 79/17.

appoyn特 *v.* point out 27/26.

appoynted *v. pt.* decreed, granted
37/22, 122/22.

approved *ppl. a.* acknowledged,
tested 88/26; proved by experience 107/29.

appurtenaunt *adj.* relating, pertinent
47/22, *etc.*

appurteynnyng *pr. p.* pertaining,
belonging 24/35, *etc.*

a ray *n.* array, order 52/17–18.

armonye *n.* harmony 25/20.

***armyng shoos** *n. pl., appar.* shoes
worn with armour 55/18.

arrogauncye *n.* arrogance 182/3.

assay *n.* tasting 168/13.

assignement *n.* allotment 125/6,
130/25.

asskyrmouche *n.* skirmish 15/10.
See escramoche.

- assocycatted** *ppl. a.* accompanied 66/34.
- assoyll** *v.* clear up, resolve 136/2.
- assurance** *n.* marriage engagement 34/9; security 117/19.
- assured** *pp.* made safe, secured 65/16.
- astoned, astonyed** *pp.* struck mute with amazement 93/4, 102/23.
- attendure** *n.* attainder 125/20.
- ***auctory** *n.* authority 116/6, 157/1.
See *n.* (on 116/6).
- auctoryte** *n.* authority 4/20, etc.
- avauncement** *n.* advance 38/4.
- avauncyng** *vbl. n.* promoting 10/3; moving forward 16/1.
- avoyde** *v.* make void 32/12, 86/5; belch 168/17; eject by excretion 173/33; *refl.* withdraw (myself) 32/3.
- axe** *v.* ask 84/9, etc.
- ayenst** *prep.* against, in preparation for 110/25.
- bagges** *n. pl.* badges 6/1.
- bakhowsse** *n.* bakehouse, bakery 19/15.
- bankett** *v. trans.* entertain at a banquet 67/29; *v. intr.* 72/26.
- Bartholmewetyd** *n.* feast of St. Bartholomew, 24 August 92/3.
- barynes** *n.* barrenness 181/16.
- based** *pp.* lowered, humbled 6/9; *seated at a lower level 116/23.
- basse** *adj.* base, low-lying 49/28, 55/21.
- basser** *adj.* baser, lower 82/28.
- bassnes** *n.* baseness, lowness 16/19.
- batere peces** *n. pl.* battery pieces, siege guns 55/35.
- baudkyn** *n.* a rich embroidered stuff 99/8.
- baylles** *n. pl.* bulwarks 24/17.
- be** *prep.* by 125/6, etc.
- beafes** *n. pl.* beefes 66/5.
- bedman** *n.* beadsman 118/35.
- bestowed** *ppl. a.* placed, employed 108/33.
- blanked** *v. pt.* nonplussed 95/34.
- blasphemous** *adj.* abusive, slanderous 3/2.
- blazed** *ppl. a.* proclaimed (as with a trumpet) 3/2.
- bokerham** *n.* buckram 162/5.
- bolle** *n.* bowl 22/22.
- bord** *n.* table 21/3.
- boted** *v. pt.* booted, availed 157/14.
- ***bottell chayn** *n., appar.* a chain used to fasten a bottle top or cork to a bottle 103/15.
- bowelles** *n. pl.* bowels 72/28.
- ***boystors** *adj.* boisterous, of rough or stiff texture 151/15.
- brake** *v. pt.* broke 32/26.
- brake** *n.* snare, difficulty 44/2.
- brond** *n.* brand 29/32.
- brotherne** *n. pl.* brethren 147/20.
- brute** *n.* bruit, fame 73/8.
- bryge, brygge** *n.* bridge 26/16, etc.
- buggett** *n.* budget, bag 16/18.
- bullyons** *n. pl.* bullions, ornamental fringes 51/28.
- burgious** *n. pl.* burgesses 112/21.
- busse** *n.* bush 61/2.
- butt lengthes** *n. pl.* distance between two archery butts 52/20.
- byen venewe** *n.* welcome 51/20.
- caffa** *n.* a rich silk cloth 23/11, 99/1.
- candyllmas** *n.* Candlemas, 2 February 122/14, etc.
- cast** *n., a cast of brede* the quantity of bread made at one time 22/20, 133/15.
- cators** *n. pl.* caterers 68/7.
- certyntie** *n.* quantity 149/14.
- chaffed** *pp.* scolded 86/28.
- Chaffer of waxe** *n.* 20/24. See *n.*
- chambers** *n. pl.* small pieces of ordnance 25/32, etc.
- chargeable** *adj.* involving responsibility 7/3.
- chaundrye** *n.* chandlery 19/12.
- cheete** *adj., a cheete love of brede* wheaten loaf of the second quality 71/31.

- cheke** *n.* rebuke 16/7, *etc.*; *n. pl.* reins (of bridle) 52/14.
- chekked** *v. pt.* rebuked 9/6.
- chekker rolle** *n.* check-roll, list of servants 21/18.
- childern** *n. pl.* pages, attendants 19/2.
- choke** *v.* stop the mouth (of a witness) 76/15.
- choyes** *n.* choice 33/29.
- cisis** *n. pl.* sizes 71/30.
- Clarke of the Chekke** *n.* 20/24–5. *See n.*
- Clarke of the Crowne** *n.* 20/23. *See n.*
- Clarke of the Grean clothe** *n.* 20/33. *See n.*
- Clarke of the hamper** *n.* 20/23–4. *See n.*
- clean** *adv.* properly, completely 71/26, *etc.*
- cloos** *n.* close, precinct 146/25.
- close stoole** *n.* chamber-pot 171/14.
- closter** *n.* cloister 54/13.
- coblett** *n.* goblet 71/28.
- cofferer** *n.* 18/32. *See n.*
- cognysaunce** *n.* crest, coat of arms 6/1, 128/20.
- colas** *n.* cullis, a strong broth 178/10.
- collect** *n.* collect 23/4.
- colour** *n.* show of reason, pretext 13/12, *etc.*
- colored** *ppl. a.* feigned, pretended 85/17.
- colour (adustum)** *n.* 173/34. *See n.*
- comenwell** *n.* commonweal, commonwealth 35/27. *See n.*
- (in) **Commendam** 17/33–4. *See n.*
- commendatory** *n.* holder of a benefice in commendam 97/15.
- commenyng, commonyng** *pr. p.* communing, conversing 55/28, 94/21, *etc.*
- commonalty** *n.* the common people 3/2.
- commyn** *v.* converse 24/7, *etc.*
- commynycacion** *n.* conversation 94/30, *etc.; by the way of com-*
- mynycacion* as a matter of conversation 16/15, *etc.*
- commysaryes** *n. pl.* representatives of a bishop in his diocese 17/21.
- compased** *v. pt.* devised, plotted 37/7.
- compasis** *n. pl.* crafty contrivances 11/3.
- compellatory** *adj.* compulsory 78/11.
- complayn (on)** *v.* complain (of, about) 31/6.
- conceynt** *n., in my conceynt to my mind* 105/19.
- condempne** *v.* condemn 81/28.
- condicion** *n.* respect, regard 6/14; *pl.* manners, morals 82/29.
- condygn** *adj.* merited, fitting 47/7, *etc.*
- confecccion** *n.* medicinal preparation 23/16, 168/12.
- confirmable** *adj.* conformable 80/27, 82/25.
- confiscatt** *pp.* confiscated 37/31.
- confuse** *n.* confusion 11/11.
- connyngh** *adj.* cunning, learned 19/32, *etc.*
- consistory** *n.* bishop's court for ecclesiastical causes 79/12.
- conspire** *v. trans.* plot, devise 165/9.
- constitute** *pp.* set up, appointed 118/6.
- contentacione** *n.* satisfaction 9/9, 159/27.
- convented** *pp.* summoned 78/10.
- convenyent** *adj.* suitable, fitting 31/17, *etc.*
- conveyed** *pp.* conducted 31/11, *etc.; managed (?)* 136/28.
- coopes** *n. pl.* copies 16/33.
- correspondent** *adj.* accordant, consonant 21/33–4.
- corrysisfe** *n.* cause of annoyance 123/12.
- costly** *adv.* sumptuously, dearly 50/11.
- customably** *adv.* customarily 148/33.

- countenaunce** *n.*, make a countenaunce of make a show of 126/25–6.
- counterfeyt** *ppl. a.* imitated, portreyed 120/27.
- countervaylle** *v.* make an equivalent return for 108/18.
- covent** *n.* convent 174/20, 183/3.
- crosberers** *n. pl.* attendants who bear an archbishop's cross 20/4, 23/33.
- crosseer** *n.* crosier 182/31.
- crymmosyn** *adj.* crimson 21/35, etc.
- cure** *n.* spiritual charge of parishioners 124/18; (medical) cure 120/20.
- ***custument** *n.* custom 56/25. See *n.*
- cytuat** *ppl. a.* situated 98/5.
- dampne** *v.* condemn 90/11.
- dampnified** *pp.* injured physically 152/5.
- ***dasht** (**owt with**) *v. pt.* 28/3. See *n.*
- daynger** *n.* power 39/14.
- declare** (**you**) *v.* tell (you) 38/13.
- deficyll** *adj.* difficult 14/7, etc.
- defray** *v.* pay out, expend 18/10.
- defuse** *adj.* obscure 48/5.
- delay** *v.* check, restrain 13/33.
- deyluerly** *adv.* lightly, nimbly 61/22.
- deyluerest** *adj.* nimblest 40/22.
- demaundyd** *v. pt.* asked 120/14, etc.
- demayns** *n. pl.* demesnes, landed property 18/18, 137/1.
- demerites** *n. pl.* merits 108/3, etc.
- departe** *v.* part with, bestow 109/25, etc.
- departure** *n.* divergence, withdrawal, parting 75/23 (see *n.*); parting with 118/25.
- depeche** *n.* dispatch 8/3.
- depeche, dispetche** *v.* dispatch 9/8, etc.; kill 166/19.
- dependyng** *pr. p.* in suspense, pending 179/10.
- deprave** *v.* vilify, defame 44/14.
- depresse** *v.* repress, suppress 179/25.
- depryved** *pp.* divested, stripped (from) 159/13.
- derevyed** *pp.* derived 90/18.
- deskes** *n. pl.* shelves 69/28.
- determynat** *ppl. a.* conclusive, final 44/21.
- devyse** *n.* device, plan 67/22.
- devyse** *v.* devise; *pp.* **devysied** 73/10, etc.
- diett** *n.* diet 173/12.
- diffyaunce** *n.* defiance 146/2.
- dirige** *n.* dirge 183/9.
- discharge** *v.* unload 133/31; relieve 22/6.
- discontentacion** *n.* dissatisfaction 80/32.
- disdaynously** *adv.* disdainfully 140/26.
- digestion** *n.* digestion 74/31.
- dishonestie** *n.* unchastity, lewdness 81/7.
- dispeched** *pp.* 25/4. See **depeche**.
- dispend** *v.* pay away, expend 106/21.
- dispetche** *v., see depeche.*
- dissent** *n.* descent 31/25.
- disseyved** *v. pt.* deceived 23/4, etc.
- dissimull, dissembell** *v.* dissemble 4/10, etc.; *pt.* **dissymbled** 9/12.
- distilled** *v. pt.* flowed forth 107/16.
- diswade** *v.* dissuade 179/19.
- doon** *adj.* dun 128/17.
- dowghtyng** *pr. p.* doubting, fearing 37/5, etc.
- drave** *v. pt.* drove 83/23.
- dromes** *n. pl.* drums 25/28, 26/25.
- dulce** *adv.* sweetly 59/31.
- dwn** *adj.* dun 127/31.
- dyaper** *n.* a linen or cotton fabric 69/16.
- dyssayved** *pp.* deceived 94/7, etc.
- effect** *v. intr.* have an effect 75/1.
- eftsons** *adv.* afterwards 28/5.
- elect** *v.* choose 173/10.
- embesell** *v.* embezzle 176/17.
- emposte** *adv.* in haste (French *en poste*) 46/8.
- emprynt** *v.* impress 171/7.
- enbandon** *v.* abandon 132/24.

- enbrodered** *pp.* embroidered 44/37, *etc.*
- encounterd** *v.* *pt. intr.* met 180/15.
- endeavour (me)** *v. refl.* exert myself 169/20.
- endured** *v. pt.* continued 53/12.
- endyght** *v.* indict 113/15.
- enfrynge** *v.* break, frustrate 30/12, 34/10.
- enheritrices** *n. pl.* heiresses 59/16.
- ensewe, enswe** *v.* follow, imitate 115/30.
- ensured** *pp.* engaged by a promise of marriage 30/7, 33/7.
- enswe** *v.* 145/33. *See ensewe.*
- entaylled** *ppl. a.* carved, sculptured 127/32, 128/3.
- entendement** *n.* understanding 8/8, *etc.*; intention 11/9, *etc.*
- entercours** *n.* entrance 12/27.
- entermeddell** *v.* meddle, interfere 25/3.
- entertayntment** *n.* reception, manner of reception 93/30.
- entired** *pp.* interred, buried 183/11.
- enveyed** *v. pt.* inveighed 113/12.
- eschaunce** *n.* exchange 18/15.
- escramoche** *v.* skirmish 38/9.
- estate** *n.* person of estate 56/22, *etc.*; *pl.* degrees, ranks in society 26/19, *etc.*
- Ester** *n.* Easter 132/30.
- euery** *adj.* every one 67/24, *etc.*
- evyll** *adj.* evil, ill 167/31, 174/15.
- evyn** *adv., evyn at hand* close at hand 114/17–18.
- ewrie** *n.* ewery 19/11.
- exclaimed** *v. trans. pt.* proclaimed loudly 13/19.
- excorriacion** *n.* excoriation 178/26.
- exebicion** *n.* exhibition, scholarship 121/32.
- expected** *pp.* waited for, awaited 44/3.
- fact** *n.* civil deed, crime 31/35, 33/15.
- famely** *n.* family, household 104/17.
- fantazied** *v. pt.* phantasied, fancied 29/20.
- fantzy** *n.* phantasy, fancy 13/8.
- farre fetche** *n.* deeply-laid or cunning stratagem 34/24.
- fate** *adj., ffeate fed* overfed, fatly fed 136/10.
- faynyng** *pr. p.* feigning 182/34.
- feacte** *n.*feat 61/33.
- feare** *v. refl., I feare me* I am afraid 166/19.
- ferced** *ppl. a.* farced, stuffed 124/13.
- ferder** *adv.* farther 123/19.
- ferme** *n., in ferme* let at a fixed rent 18/3.
- ferrour** *n.* farrier 19/21.
- filed** *ppl. a.* polished, smooth 11/32.
- fired** *v. intr. pt.* became inflamed, showed anger 104/9.
- fletyng** *vbl. n.* fleeting, gliding away from (?) 188/2.
- foode** *n.* feud 145/15.
- forme** *n.* bench 32/29; kneeling bench, pric-Dieu 46/2.
- forse** *v.* foresee 139/6, *etc.*
- foyell** *n.* repulse, defeat 137/2.
- foyned** *v. pt.* made a thrust, lunged 61/11, 14.
- fraccion** *n.* breaking of the bread in the Eucharist 54/5.
- framed** *v. pt.* was contrived 35/16; contrived 178/34.
- francye** *n.* frenzy 178/26.
- franke** *adj.* free from restraint 113/30.
- frequent** *v.* busy oneself with 143/13.
- freuctes** *n. pl.* fruits 152/28.
- frustrate** *adj.* fruitless, unavailing 96/4.
- fullfyll** *v.* satisfy 78/15, *etc.; pp.* **fulfill, fulfilled** filled; fulfilled 74/31, 128/23, 28.
- funeralles** *n. pl.* funeral 11/5, *etc.*
- furnyished** *ppl. a.* furnished 24/17.
- furnytur** *n.* furnishing 9/12, *etc.;* complement of occupants 23/7; accoutrements, furnishings 48/28, *etc.*
- fyll** *v. pt.* fell 15/12.
- fynforce** *n., of fynforce* of absolute necessity 15/1, 38/1.
- fynne** *n., in fynne* to conclude 111/33.
- fyses** *n. pl.* fifes 26/25.

- gagge** *n.* gage 131/5.
galhowsse *n. pl.* gallows 63/21.
garde *ppl. a.* furnished with an ornamental border 22/3.
garderobbe *n.* wardrobe 19/13.
garner *n.* granary 19/17.
garter *n., abbreviation for* Garter King of Arms 66/21.
gasyn *pr. p.* gazing 60/35.
gathowsse *n.* gatehouse 5/35.
generall receyvour *n.* receiver-general 82/11. *See n.*
genett *n.* jennet, a Spanish horse 51/30, *etc.*
***gentilman for the monthe** *n.* 19/12. *See n.*
gere *n.* substance 168/10; doings, goings-on 184/23.
gested *pp.* made a jest of 142/27.
gesture *n.* bearing, deportment 29/31, *etc.*
goddes *n., a goddes name* in God's name 129/12.
gospeller *n.* one who reads the Gospel 19/28.
gratitudes *n. pl.* graces, favours 134/33.
gratuytie *n.* favour, kindness 135/2.
grease tyme *n.* 141/1. *See grece season.*
grece season *n.* 92/16. *See n.*
gree *n., in gree* with goodwill or favour 103/21, 140/21.
gresis *n. pl.* steps 54/3.
greve *n.* grief 141/34.
grograyn *n.* a coarse fabric 99/2.
gross *adj.* dense, thick 174/3.
gwerdenythe *v. pr. 3 s.* rewards 129/20.
gyft *n.* power of giving 5/14.

haboundaunce abundance 187/30.
habytt *n.* garb, clothing 23/9.
halewater *n.* holy water 46/20.
halfe hakkes *n. pl.* halfhacks, small-size hackbutts 51/23.
halhalou day *n.* 151/3. *See alhalouday.*
hand *n., in hand with,* endeavouring to persuade, engaged with 84/24; *owt of hand* at once, immediately 112/32, 139/21.
handfull *n., an handfull brode* the width of a hand (conventionally 'four inches') 51/29.
harbergers *n. pl.* advance messengers 45/14.
hard *v. See here.*
hartilest *adv.* most heartily 133/30.
hault *adj.* haughty 13/33, 35/8; high 150/33.
haunted *v. pt.* frequented 63/9.
hauour *n.* behaviour 48/9, *etc.*
herd *adj.* hard 55/32.
here *v.* hear 12/28, *etc.; pt.* hard heard 10/13, *etc.*
hignes *n.* highness 77/19.
hild *v. pt.* held 42/31, 61/9.
historygraffers *n. pl.* historiographers 11/9.
hit *pron. it* 45/13, 185/13.
holand clothe *n.* a linen fabric 99/3.
holden *pp.* held 90/23.
hole *adj.* whole 59/21, *etc.*
holledayes *n. pl.* holy days 133/21.
holy, holly *adv.* wholly 31/34, 113/21, *etc.*
honestie *n.* reputation, credit 114/30.
honorous *adj.* honourable 3/30.
howghes *n. pl.* houghs, hocks 61/24.
huntes *n. pl.* hunters 60/31, 61/15.

ieopard *v. intr. for refl.* risk oneself, venture 137/6.
iesture *n.* 97/31. *See gesture.*
imagyn *v.* imagine, plot, devise 150/8, *etc.*
imagynacion *n.* scheming, devising 11/13, *etc.*
***imedyally** *adv.* immediately 168/17 (*possibly an error by Cavendish*).
impediment *n.* hindrance, obstruction 41/30.
imynent *adj.* 171/7. *See n.*
incontynent *adv.* immediately 8/21, *etc.*
inconvenyence *n.* harm, injury 145/5, 28.

- indenture** *n.* list, inventory 99/29.
indewred *v. pt.* endured, lasted 64/4.
indifferencye *n.* impartiality 4/21,
etc.
indifferent *adj.* unbiased, fair 136/7.
indifferently *adv.* moderately, tolerably 112/11.
induce *v.* introduce, bring forward 36/9.
ingrate *adj.* ungrateful 140/30.
inhabytid *v. pt.* took up one's abode, settled 121/31.
insaciad *adj.* never satisfied 29/3.
instaunce *n.* urgent entreaty 121/2.
instrument *n.* formal legal document 5/20, *etc.*
intelligence *n.* information, news 123/29, *etc.*
invencion *n.* discovery 10/3, *etc.*
invented *pp.* devised, plotted 22/1,
etc.
iote *n.* jot 47/23.
ioyell *n.* jewel 16/21, *etc.*
iointly *adv.* together, at the same time 130/22.
ipocras *n.* cordial drink of spiced wine 71/11.
issue *n.* exit 143/21.
iubely *n.* jubilee 45/28.
iusticers *n. pl.* judges 101/19.

kankard *ppl. a.* cankered, malignant 114/14.
kayes *n. pl.* keys 152/30, 31.
keuerchefe *n.* covering for the head 59/1.

laft *pp.* left 159/12.
lagacion *n.* legation 77/22.
laske *n.* attack of diarrhoea 168/22.
laughed (owte) *pp.* dismissed by laughing 142/27.
launceknygthes *n. pl.* lance-knights 46/7. *See n.*
lawyng *pr. p.* laughing 28/2.
layeng *pr. p.* putting forward, alleging 145/34.
laysor *n.* leisure 44/12.
leade *n., under leade* under a seal made of lead 77/8.

***leanyng stone** *n.* stone forming the inner sill of a window 63/21.
lease *v.* lose 95/14.
legacye *n.* legateship 17/29, *etc.*
legantyn *adj.* legatine 45/31.
lenger *adj.* longer 28/36, *etc.*
lett *n.* let, hindrance 39/6, *etc.*
looke *n.* lock 140/6.
loope *n.* loophole 154/2.
love *n.* loaf 71/31.
love dayes *n. pl.* days appointed for the settling of disputes 144/5.
loves *n. pl., for all the loves* (phrase of strong entreaty) 80/17.
lowd *adj.* lewd, villainous 33/15.
luke *n.* luck 105/20.
lyfe *v.* live 174/5.
lyueres *n. pl.* liveries, provisions 22/18, *etc.*
lyvely *adj.* life-like 120/27; **lyvelyest** most life-like 127/32.

male *n.* bag, pack 140/4, 154/32.
malyng, malygne *v.* malign 33/16, 137/16.
manchett brede *n.* the finest wheaten bread 22/20, 71/31.
markes *n. pl.* marks (13s. 4d.) 69/32, *etc.*
mase *n.* mace 23/28.
***maskeresses** *n. pl.* female maskers 73/24.
mastresse *n.* mistress 56/18.
maysters ceremoniarum *n. pl.* masters of ceremonies 17/26.
maystres *n. pl., to worke maystres* to perform wonderful feats 35/11.
meane *n.* mediator, go-between 166/14.
meate *adj.* meet, suitable 21/27, *etc.*
merely *adv.* merrily 26/21, 48/2.
messe *n.* group at a banquet 21/4, 167/17.
messwage *n., in messwage* carrying a communication 110/32, 114/16.
mete *adj.* *See meate.*
metropolyan *n.* head of an ecclesiastical province 84/12.
mewlytor *n.* muleteer 19/22.

- mo, moo** *adj.* more, greater in number 144/16, etc.
- mocion** *n.*, *of his mere mocion* of his own accord 10/15.
- molt** *pp.* melted 176/18.
- monycion** *n.* admonition 33/19.
- more** *adj.* greater in degree or extent 29/16, etc.
- most** *adj.*, *the most persons of estymacion* the persons of greatest estimation 49/35.
- mottons** *n. pl.* sheep 66/5.
- moysted** *pp.* slaked one's thirst 160/12.
- moytie** *n.* moiety, half 59/18.
- mume chaunce** *n.* dicing game resembling hazard 27/2.
- mumerreys** *n. pl.* mummeries, maskings 25/16.
- muse** *v.* muse, wonder 25/35, etc.
- mutuall** *adj.* mutual 147/5.
- myght** *n.* mite 176/17.
- *myhell** *n.* a medal depicting St. Michael 66/12.
- myslyke** *n.* dislike 83/31.
- mystery** *n.* trade guild, 134/22.
- mystrustyng** *pr. p.* suspecting 41/5.
- mysused** *pp.* misconducted 33/3.
- mytigat** *v.* mitigate 118/4.
- naked** *adj.*, *naked bed* 'denoting the removal of ordinary wearing apparel' (*O.E.D.*) 46/27, 86/30.
- naturall** *adj.* hereditary, legitimate 11/10.
- ne** *conj.* nor 22/13, etc.
- necessary** *adj.* commodious, convenient 50/19, 51/4 (?)
- necessary** *adv.* necessarily 12/18.
- necessitie** *n.* want, poverty 144/3.
- nekke** *n.* neck 23/12.
- nett** *adj.* neat 127/16.
- newe** *adj.*, *of newe anew* 15/24.
- newelties** *n. pl.* novelties 100/30.
- newter** *adj.* neuter, neutral 49/5.
- nons** *n.*, *for the nons* for the occasion 51/19.
- *norwithstandyng** *conj.* notwithstanding 167/32 (*possibly an error by Cavendish*).
- nother** *conj.* neither 24/12, etc.
- noyce** *n.* melodious sound 70/14.
- nyght crowe** *n.* night-crow (a bird of ill omen) 137/19.
- obedyencer** *n.* obedientary, liege-man 114/3.
- occasion** *n.* person who brings about something 121/31.
- occupied** *pp.* made use of, used 19/35, etc.
- ode** *adj.* odd 133/16.
- often** *adj.* frequent 169/2, 170/6.
- on** *adj.* one 85/28.
- oncouche** *v.* drive animal out of lair 60/31.
- onreuerently** *adv.* irreverently 86/15.
- onsavery** *adj.* unsavoury 123/5.
- onthryfte** *adj.* prodigal, spendthrift 32/33.
- or** *conj.* ere, before 95/17, etc.
- ordynarie** *n.* ordinary 5/18. *See n.*
- ordynaunce** *n.* ordnance, artillery 40/32, etc.
- ordynyth** *v. pr. 3 s.* ordains, plans 86/1, etc.; *pp.* **ordened** 128/3, etc.
- orisons** *n. pl.* prayers 183/10.
- other** *conj.* either 23/9, etc.
- owtherwart** *prep.* upon, across 167/26.
- owght** *v. pt.* owed 28/30.
- owther** *conj.* either 43/29, etc.
- pact** *pp.* packed 7/20.
- page** *n.* page 63/9.
- paiantes** *n. pl.* pageants 50/3, etc.
- palle** *n.* pall, pallium 182/32.
- paned** *ppl. a.* made of strips of coloured cloth 25/24.
- parcell** *n.* portion, piece 99/24, etc.
- parcell** *adj.*, *parcell gylt* partially gilded 56/11, etc.
- parelles** *n. pl.* perils; *uppon ther parelles* at their own risk 145/22, etc.
- parentes** *n. pl.* relatives, kinsmen 132/25.
- participyant** *adj.* participating 39/20.

- parties** *n. pl.* parts 4/4, etc.
- passenger** *n.* passenger-vessel 8/18.
- passyng** *pr. p.* caring, recking 28/27, etc.
- pastry** *n.* pastry-kitchen 19/3.
- pasture** *n.* pastor 84/1, etc.
- paynfull** *adj.* diligent, assiduous 10/25.
- perceuered** *v. pt.* persevered 130/17, etc.
- perceueraunce** *n.* perception, understanding 89/34.
- perke** *n.* perch 55/26.
- personally** *adv.* in person 182/20.
- pervsed** *v. pt.* handled one by one 54/15; read 45/34, etc.
- pesterd** *pp.* clogged, entangled 23/19.
- peusaunt** *adj.* See **pieusaunt**.
- pevyshe** *adj.* peevish 30/18.
- pieusaunt, peusaunt** *adj.* powerful 13/32, 42/33, etc.
- pild** *pp., pild & pold* ruined by degradations or extortions 101/10.
- pillers berers** *n. pl.* 20/4. *See n.*
- pirld** *ppl. a.* purled, edged 52/12.
- pitched** *v. pt., pitched a feld* arranged a battle 180/14.
- plantyd** *v. pt.* established 40/15, etc.
- plate** *n.* confection, sweetmeat 71/4.
- pollaxes** *n. pl.* pole-axes 24/3.
- polleyc** *n.* political cunning 13/3, etc.
- poomen** *n. pl.* poor men 133/12 (*perhaps erroneous form*).
- port** *n.* bearing 29/2, etc.
- pottecarye** *n.* apothecary 20/29, etc.
- practised** *v. pt.* plotted, conspired 34/17.
- prease, prece, prese** *n.* crowd, throng 23/18, etc.
- precontracte** *n.* pre-existing contract of marriage 30/12.
- preferre** *v.* advance in status, promote 115/7, etc.
- premedytate** *adj.* premeditated 149/32.
- premunire** *n.* 113/15, etc. *See n.*
- prese** *n.* *See prease.*
- present** *n., at that present* at that time 7/24.
- preserued** *pp.* reserved 164/14.
- prest** *n.* payment in advance 131/22.
- presumcyons** *n. pl.* presumptive evidence 86/3, 10.
- pretended** *ppl. a.* pretended, false 36/9.
- prevencyon** *n.* prevention 17/24, etc. *See n. to 17/19–20.*
- preventyd** *pp.* forestalled, baulked 159/12.
- prevy** *adj.* *See privye.*
- price** *n.* prize 59/35.
- privye, prevy, pryvy** *adj.* secret, hidden 35/1, etc.
- probacions** *n. pl.* proofs 166/12.
- processe** *n.* narration, relation 182/9; *in processe* in process of time 34/25.
- proface** *int.* formula of welcome 70/21 [*< obs. F. proufasse*, in full *bon prou vous fasse* ‘may it do you good’.]
- prophicier** *n.* prophet 128/31.
- propone** *v.* propose 36/18.
- prour** *n.* prior 45/26.
- prove** *n.* proof 33/33.
- prove** *v.* test 7/34, etc.; *prove to become, grow to* 95/24.
- provoked** *pp.* called upon 75/3; *pt.* urged to action 143/10.
- pryvy** *adj.* *See privye.*
- purseuaunt** *n.* pursuivant 9/14.
- purvyours** *n. pl.* purveyors 19/15.
- pyllion** *n.* priest’s hat 23/12.
- pystoler** *n.* one who reads the Epistle 19/28.
- qualefie** *v.* moderate, mitigate 63/2, 146/3.
- quyer** *n.* choir 45/33.
- race** *n.* run 52/29.
- raced** *v. pt.* razed, scratched 151/20.
- rathe** *adv.* quickly, rapidly 130/34.
- rathest** *adj., most rathest* most of all 114/8.
- raylyng** *pr. p.* 151/17. *See n.*
- readopcion** *n.* re-adoption 119/22.

recepte *n.* recipe, prescription 168/19.

recognysaunce *n.* recognition, acknowledgement 117/24.

reconsilment *n.* reconciliation 141/26.

reduce *v.* bring back, restore 58/18.

reedefied *v. pt.* rebuilt 5/35.

regally *n.* royalty, royal prerogative 181/12.

regard *n.* attention 28/22.

rehersyng *pr. p.* repeating 170/10, etc.

reiester *n.* register 147/32.

reioyce *v. trans.* feel joy on account of 65/26.

relented *pp.* melted 158/35.

remembred *pp.* recorded, mentioned 18/27.

remyssion *n.* forgiveness, pardon 9/24, 46/24 *See n.*

renommed *ppl. a.* renowned 75/18.

reparacion *n.* repair 138/10.

repayer *n.* repair, going 38/17.

repetor *n.* rehearser, trainer 19/27.

replenysshed *ppl. a.* fully stocked 69/21.

repugned *v. pt.* opposed, contended against 114/6.

requyer *v.* ask, request 27/4, etc.

respecte *n.* regard, consideration 130/2.

respeyght *n.* respite 92/2.

resumed *pp.* taken back 131/25.

resurreccion *n.* 133/17. *See n.*

retther *adv.* rather 73/22.

reuested *pp.* arrayed in vestments 58/31.

revelled *v. pt.* revealed 63/15, etc.

revestrie *n.* vestry 19/31.

revoke *v.* recall, summon back 34/35, 58/15.

reward *n.* gratuity 187/16.

ridyng clarke *n.* 20/23. *See n.*

robbing *pr. p.* rubbing 54/16.

rochett *n.* linen vestment worn by bishops 107/11.

rome *n.* room, office, position 6/33, etc.

roodeloft *n.* rood-loft 54/10.

roundyng *pr. p.* whispering 27/23.

rowndz *n. pl.* round marks (in archery) 183/24.

rowt *n.* retinue 162/9, etc.

rumour *n.* clamour, noise 57/13.

runnyng cootes *n. pl.* coats worn by footmen employed as runners 20/27.

sakbuttes *n. pl.* sackbuts 54/9.

saluegard *n.* safeguard 40/2.

sarcenet *n.* a fine silk material 99/2.

sault *n.* assault 40/32.

***scripulositie** *n.* scrupulousness, scruple 83/3.

scripulous, scrypolous *adj.* scrupulous 14/5, 31/24, 83/14, etc.

scylence *n.* silence 80/4.

se *v. see,* ensure 107/2.

seased *pp.* seized 37/31.

season *n.* time 34/2, etc.

sedell *n.* 156/14. *See n.*

seen *ppl. a.* versed 122/1, 182/10.

semblable *adj., with the semblable* in the same manner 65/22, etc.

semblably *adv.* seemly, fittingly 49/19.

sentences *n. pl.* views 11/29.

***seruaunce** *n.* service 114/28.

seruyture *n.* attendant 30/1.

sewer *adj.* sure, certain 76/25, etc.

sewerly *adv.* surely 80/1.

sewers *n. pl.* servers 20/11.

sewartie *n.* surety 98/15, 162/33

segger *n.* sugar 22/22.

seggerd *ppl. a.* made sweet, agreeable 13/18.

shadowe *v.* shade, obscure 163/7.

shalme *n.* 60/6. *See n.*

shere *n.* shire 64/22.

shett *pp.* shut 161/16, etc.

shewe *v. pt.* showed 124/4.

shifte *n.* shift, expedient 52/7.

shyfted *v. pt.* changed 93/12.

sir *n.* sir (as term of address) 126/34, 127/24.

skaldyng howsse *n.* room in which utensils, etc., were scalded 19/8.

skantly *adv.* scarcely, hardly 9/15, etc.

- skayn** *n.* skein 87/29.
- slaves** *n. pl.* slaves (as term of contempt) 62/5.
- slipe** *n.* leash 60/25.
- smell** *v.* discern, suspect 41/30.
- smoked** *v. pt.* fumed, was angry at 34/21.
- socours** *n.* succour 6/29, 179/32. (O.F. *sucurs*)
- soden, sodden** *adj.* sudden 97/5, etc.
- solomplest** *adj.* most solemn 46/16.
- solomplly** *adv.* solemnly 38/25, etc.
- solompne** *adj.* solemn 45/30, etc.
- somme** *n.* sum 8/27.
- sompterman** *n.* sumpterman 19/21.
- somptermewles** *n. pl.* pack mules 45/2.
- sonpmtyous** *adj.* sumptuous 141/23.
- sorte** *n.* kind, manner; *with lyke sorte* in like manner 24/32; *under this sort* in this manner 26/1.
- speres** *n. pl.* pensioners, gentlemen-at-arms 48/23.
- sprituall** *adj.* spiritual 17/23.
- spyall** *n.* discovery, detection 63/14.
- spyalles** *n. pl.* spies 150/14.
- stafe** *n.* support, stay 6/29, etc.
- staffe torch** *n.* tall, thick candle 22/23, etc.
- stale** *v. pt.* stole 63/12.
- stallacion** *n.* installation 152/20.
- stalle** *v.* enthrone 66/10, 152/22.
- stalled** *v. pt.* came to a stand 60/35.
- stand** *v.* endure, bear 117/31; *stand in termes* take part in controversy 118/31.
- standerdes** *n. pl.* large chests 122/16.
- standyng** *n.* hunter's station 60/32.
- standysshe** *n.* standish, inkstand 63/6.
- staye** *n.* state 34/34.
- stere** *v.* stir up 37/10; *stere the coles* excite strife 95/35.
- sterrechamber** *n.* Star Chamber 24/12.
- stevers** *n. pl.* stairs 86/24.
- stomake** *n.* stomach 74/30; (as seat of lust) 35/7; temper, disposition 117/28.
- stomaked** *v. pt.* resented 58/6.
- stopped** *v. pt.* blocked 153/28.
- stoutly** *adv.* haughtily, proudly 58/7.
- stowt** *adj.* proud, haughty 35/8.
- strak** *v. pt.* struck 57/16.
- strayngers** *n. pl.* foreigners 25/8, etc.
- ***strayntly** *adv.* straightly, strictly 145/21.
- strenthe** *n.* strength 40/29.
- stroke** *n., bare the stroke* achieved a triumph 43/17.
- stykke** *v.* hesitate, scruple 108/17.
- suerly** *adv.* surely, steadfastly 116/19.
- sumptioser** *adj.* more sumptuous 72/14.
- supportacion** *n.* support, countenance 26/34, etc.
- surmountythe** *v. pr. 3 s.* surpasses 116/11; *pt.* **surmounted** prevailed over, overcame 102/28.
- surveyour of the dresser** *n.* 18/35. See *n.*
- suspecte** *adj.* suspected 173/3.
- symple** *adj.* humble 16/22.
- symply** *adv.* simply 131/6.
- symplycye** *n.* plainness of life 148/31.
- tablet** *n.* flat ornament 121/7.
- take** *v., take day* put off to another day 113/2.
- taken** *pp.* accepted by the mind 105/10. See *n.*
- tappett** *n.* cloth hanging 151/11.
- tariaunce** *n.* temporary residence 132/27.
- tauny** *n.* cloth of a tawny colour 44/36.
- therfroo** *adv.* therefrom 179/19.
- therther** the other 57/24, etc.
- thrommed** *ppl. a.* fringed 60/24.
- ***thrust** (up) *pp.* trussed up, tied in a bundle 173/26 (*Suffolk dial.* 'thr' for 'tr').

- tippett** *n.* fur scarf 23/13.
tonnes *n. pl.* tuns, large casks 97/20.
tornyng *pr. p.* tourneying 73/2.
tossed *pp.* ?set in motion; ?bandied about 78/30.
tother the other 57/30, *etc.*
towardnes *n.* compliance 65/27.
toyle *n.* net into which game is driven 60/15.
tract *v.* prolong, delay 175/35, *etc.*
trade *n.* course, path 123/20, 127/1.
trapped *ppl. a.* adorned with trap-pings 23/34.
trapper *n.* covering over a horse 52/11.
travell *n.* travail 6/31, *etc.*; *v.* 10/24, *etc.*
travelous *adj.* laborious 129/1.
travers *n.* compartment enclosed by a screen 54/1, *etc.*
treasurshipe *n.* treasurership 7/2.
tremlyng *pr. p.* trembling 155/15.
trompe *n.* trump, trumpet 3/3.
troppeters *n. pl.* trumpeters 54/10.
truppettes *n. pl.* trumpets 70/8.
trussyg chest *n.* chest used for packing 169/36.
trust *v. pt.* trusted 121/29.
turkkas *n.* turquoise 111/18.
tykkyll *adj.* tickle, uncertain 187/32.

valaunce *n.* valise, cloak bag 45/10.
vamppes *n. pl.* bottom part of stockings 148/26.
vanquiesshed *pp.* vanquished 115/26.
varyaunce *n.* discord, quarrel 145/1.
vaughtyng *pr. p.* vaulting 70/36.
vayn *n.* vein 12/10.
very *adj.* rightful, legitimate 147/4; *adv.* truly 154/3.
visonamy *n.* physiognomy, face 25/25.
vnreuerent *adj.* irreverent 86/14.

vsage *n.* usage, behaviour 4/4, *etc.*; custom 56/31, *etc.*
vse *v.* treat 65/22.

wade *v.* go 90/12, 149/28.
wafery *n.* wafer-kitchen 19/13.
waffetyng *pr. p.* sailing 100/24.
wane *v. pt.* won 27/15, *etc.*
ward *n.* first or outer court 55/5; custody 150/26.
wardens *n. pl.* baking pears 167/18.
ware *v. pt.* wore 130/16.
warfare *conj.* wherefore 150/9.
warne *v.* summon 70/8.
water *v., water his eyes* shed tears 87/21.
way, *v.* weigh 166/34.
wele *n.* weal 6/8, *etc.*
wene *v.* think 186/33.
were *pron.* where 138/7.
wether *conj.* whether 137/32.
wexe *v.* wax, increase 29/1, *etc.*
whan *v. pt.* won 41/22.
where *v.* wear 103/21.
whether *n.* weather 143/31.
whether *adv.* whither 130/11.
wonder *adj.* wondrous 36/16.
wonderly *adv.* in a wonderful manner 24/28; to a wonderful extent 12/25.
wondersly *adv.* wondrously 34/27, 58/13.
wondyd *pp.* wounded 84/6.
world *n., ys it not a world* is it not a marvel 78/14.
wyheight *adj.* white 60/25.
wylllest *conj.* whilst 135/21, *etc.*
wyry *n.* wherry, light boat 77/30.
wysdomes *n. pl.* title of respect 145/14.
wytsontyd *n.* Whitsuntide 38/23, *etc.*

yerthe *n.* earth 159/30.
yerthely *adj.* earthly 73/13.
yewer *n.* ewer, pitcher 71/26.

INDEX OF NAMES

- A** **Abvyle** Abbeville 50
Alyn, Sir John 176
Amyens Amiens 50–1, 53–4
Arde Ardres 56
Argos Argus 150
Arthure, Prince 83, 85
Arundell, Sir Thomas 104
Assher Esher 98, 104, 112, 119,
121–3
Augusteyn, Doctor 151–2, 155, 157
- B** **Bathe** 18
Bathe, Bysshope of 77
Bathe Place 77, 87
Baynbryge, Doctor 15
Beame, Kyng of King of Bohemia
179
Beddford, Erle of 37
Bees, Monsur de du Biez, Captain
of Boulogne 46, 49
Bell, Doctor 79
Biean, Bysshope of Bishop of
Bayonne 83
Blake ffriers Blackfriars (London)
78–9, 86, (Doncaster) 163
Blakhethe Blackheath 16, 77
Blythe Abbey 143
Bolayn (Bolloyn), Sir Thomas
29 *etc.*, 128
Boleyn (Bolloyn), Anne 29–30,
34–5, 43–4, 74, 92, 120–1
Bolleyn, Bolloyn, Bulloyn
Boulogne 46, 48–50
Bonner, Doctor 151–2
Bononye Bologna 76
Brandon, Charles 50
Breerton, Master 139
Brian, Le Countie 49
Bridewell (Bridwell) 11, 78, 86–7,
91
Brugges Bruges 22
Bryttayn, Duchy of Duchy of
Brittany 59
Burbon, Duke of Duke of Bourbon
37–41, 43
- B** **Burgonyons** Burgundians 51
Buttes, Doctor 120–1
Byllyngesgate Billingsgate 24
- C** **Calice** Calais 6–8, 14, 46, 48, 64,
97
Cambryge 75–6
Campagious, Cardynall Cardinal
Campeggio 77, 89, 92–3, 97
Carelyle (Carlylle), Bysshope of
86, 104
Castell Ayngell Castel Sant' Angelo,
Rome 42–3
Caunterbure Canterbury 15 *etc.*, 45
Caunterbure, Archebisshope of
15–17, 79, 84
Cawood 144 *etc.*
Cawood Castell 145, 151, 162
Charles the 5 21
Charterhowsse Chirche 130
Chastell de Crykkey Crecqui
Castle 57
Chekker, The 46
Chichester, Bysshope of 79
Clement, Doctor 121
Clermount, Countie 15
Collett, Doctor 130
Compign (Compygne) Compiègne
54, 57, 60, 63
Cooke of Wynchester 79
Creekey, Monsur Monsieur
Crecqui 55
Cromer, Doctor 121
Cromwell, Thomas 104–7, 109,
112, 115, 123–7, 129–32
Crystes Church, Abbey of 45
- D** **Dancaster** Doncaster 163
Derby, Erle of 20
Dertford Dartford 45
Dolphyn, The The Dauphin 43
Dorsett, Lord Marques 5
Dover 8–9, 14, 64
Duresme, Bysshopryche of
Bishopric of Durham 17–18

- E**dward IV, King 50
Elis, Parson 177
Empson, Master 96
Emson, Sir Richard 11
Eston 96
- F**erdynando, Kyng of Spayn 81
Feryebrigg Ferrybridge 144
Feuersham Faversham 45
Fissher, Doctor 79
Fitzwalter, Lord 61
Fitzwilliam, Sir William 133–5
Flaunders 7, 22
Flet Strett Fleet Street 11
Fountayn, Madame 59
Foxe, Doctor 7, 17
Fraunces I, King 59
- G**agge, Sir John 183–4
Garter the harold 66
Gascoyn, Sir William 100
Gonner (Gunner), Cristofer Sir Christopher Gunner 59, 63
Grafton 92, 96
Grantham 135
Graveshend Gravesend 8
Grenwyche Greenwich 24, 66–7, 72, 112
Gressham, Sir Richard 176
Griffithe, Master 82
Grysheld Griselda 35
Gwees, Monsur de Monsieur de Guise 52
Gwyldford, Sir Henry Sir Harry Guildford 26
Gwynnes (Gynnes) Guines 48, 63
- H**all, Master 135
Hamnes Hammes 48
Hampton Court 67–9, 72, 98, 104, 123, 183
Hanworthe 69, 187
Hardyke Hall 174
Hartwell Parke 97
Hastynges, Master Bryan 145
Hendon 132
Hereford 18
Herry V, King 181
Herry VII, King 6, 8, 10, 17–18
Herry VIII, King 11, 50, 80 etc.
- H**ikden, Doctor Doctor Higden, Dean of York 146, 177
Huntyngdon, Abbey of 133
Hykden, Doctor Doctor Higden, Dean of Cardinal College 176
- I**okyn, Iohn Jean Joachim de Passano 38
Ipsewiche 4, 99, 113, 125
Iulius, Pope 15
- K**atheren, Queen 11, 29, 35, 80, 82, 179
Kent 45, 64
Kyngeston, Sir William 168–87
- L**anterne Gate 46
Lasselles, Sir Roger 162
Lewyce, *see* Lowice
Leycester 185
Leycester Abbey 174
Leycester, Mayor of 182
London 8 *etc.*
London Bridge 44
Longvyle, Duke of 15
Lorrain, Cardynall of 48, 52–3
Lorrain, Duke of 52
Lovayn Louvain 76
Lovell, Sir Thomas 7, 9–10
Lowice, King 50, 55, 59
Lutarnaunce Lutherans 179
Lyncolne 10, 15
Lyncolne, Lord of 84
- M**adame Regent Louise, Regent of France 51, 53, 57–60
Magdaleyn Collage Magdalen College, Oxford 5
Marshall, Doctor 105
Mary, Lady Henry VIII's sister 50
Marye, Prynces Henry VIII's daughter 62, 83
Maxymylian, Emperor 7, 14, 21
Middell Temple 5
Montdedyer Montdidier 57
More, The Wolsey's Palace (now Moor Park, Herts.) 92, 97
Muterell sur la mere Montreuil sur la mer 49–50

- Nanfant, Sir Iohn** 6
Naver, Quene of Queen of Navarre 51, 53, 59
Naverne, King of King of Navarre 59
Neveyll, Sir Edward 27–8
Newarke 135
Newarke, Castell of 135, 138
Nicholas, Doctor 174
Norffolk 31
Norffolk, Duke of 94–5, 98, 114–16, 124, 127, 129–30, 184–6
Normandy, Duchye of 64
Norreys, Sir Herre Sir Harry Norris 93, 101–4, 184
Northamptonshire Northamptonshire 92
Northumberland, [fifth] Erle of 29, 32–3
Northumberland, [sixth] Erle of 150 *etc.*
Nothyngham Nottingham 174
Notre Dame Saynt Marye, Churche de 51, 53
OldCastell, Sir Iohn Sir John Oldcastle 181
Orlyaunce, Duke of Duke of Orleans 43, 62, 83
Orlyaunce, Vnyuersite of University of Orleans 76
Ormond, Erle of 31
Our Ladys Chappell (Peterborough) 133, (Leicester) 183
Oxford, College of (Cardinal College) 99, 113, 125, 133, 176
Oxford, Vnuyersitie of 4, 75–6
Padwaye Padua 76
Palmes, Doctor 175, 177–8
Paris 63, 76, 121
Parre, Lady 132
Pavya Pavia 38
Pawlett, Sir Amys 5–6
Percye (*see also* Northumberland [sixth Earl]) 29–32, 34–5
Peter, Doctor 79
Peterboroughe 133–4
Peterboroughe, Abbey of 133
Phillipe, King 21
Poumfrett (Pumfrett) Pontefract 161–2
Pountfrett (Pumfrett), Abbey of 151, 162
Powlies Chirche Yerd 66
Powlies, Cathederal Chirche of 66, 70
Pumfrett Castell 162
Putnethe Hethe Putney Heath 103
Putney (Putnethe) 100–1
Pykardy Picardy 49
Pynkney Picquigny 51
Pynkney Castell Picquigny Castle 50–1
Ratclyfe, Master (Henry) 61
Ratclyfe, Master (Robert) 186–7
Reigne, Madame Renée, Francis l's sister-in-law 59, 62
Rice John ap Rhys (?) 48
Richemond 7, 9–10, 38, 67, 123, 127, 132
Richemond, Erledome of 128
Richemond, Charterhowsse of 130
Rocheford, Viscount 29
Rochester 45
Rochester, Bisshope of 79, 84–5
Rofford Abbey 143
Rome (Roome) 15, 18, 42, 77, 90, 92, 96–7
Royston 132
Russell, Sir Iohn 37–8, 110–11
Russhe, Sir Thomas 112
Rycherd II, King 180
Rydley, Doctor 79–80, 86
Rye, The 132
Sadler, Sir Rafe 110
Salomon, Salomon Solomon 11, 81
Sampson, Doctor 79
Sandes, Lord 26, 63
Sandyingfeld Sandingfield 48
Savoye, Master of 176
Saynt Assaph, Bysshope of 79
Scottes Scots 51
Scrobye 141–4, 184
Seynt Albons, Abbey of 17, 125
Seynt Albons, Monastory of 97
Seynt Iames Chappell 148

- Seynt Maris Churche** 46
Seynt Oswaldes Abbeye 144
Seynt Thomas 45
Sheffeld Parke 163
Shelley, Master 116–19
Shrewesbury, Erle of 34, 140,
 142–3, 163–4, 167, 170–1, 174
Smythe, Doctor 15
Somme 50
Souches Switzers 51
Southewell 135, 138, 140, 142
Stampford Stamford 135
Standysse, Doctor 79
Stephens, Doctor 79, 92, 96
Strode 45
Suffolk 4
Suffolk, Duke of 50, 55, 57, 65, 90,
 95, 97–8
Surrey 104
Sussex, Erle of 61

Tayllour, Doctor 48
Temmes Thames 26, 100
Temmes Strette 24
Tempest, Sir Richard 145
Temple Barre 77
Teurwyn Thérouanne 14
Tourney Tournai 14–15
Tower, The 100, 175, 181
Tower, Constable of the 169, 172
Tower Hyll 79
Tregonell, Doctor 79

Vademount, Monsur 52
Venus 29
Vyncent, Master 175, 184

Warham, Doctor 79
Welbeke Abbey 142
Welshe (Walshe), Sir Walter
 152–3, 155–8, 168
Westminster 44, 64, 67, 72, 75, 86,
 97, 117, 123
Westminster Abbey 16
Westminster, Abbot of 132
Westmynster Hall 22–4, 64
Wolsey, Thomas 3 *etc.*
Worcester 18
Worcetor, Bysshope of 79
Worsoppe Parke 142
Wotten, Doctor 121
Writhesley (Wrothesley), Master
 139
Wyate, Sir Harre 64
Wycklyfe Wiclit 179–80
Wyltcher, Sir Richard 45
Wyltchere, Lord of 29, 66, 87
Wynchester 7, 94, 124–5
Wynchester, Bysshope of 7, 9, 17,
 79, 92, 98
Wynchester, Bysshopriche of 18,
 104, 124, 131
Wyndesore Windsor 67, 72, 98
Wyndesore, Castell of 50

Yorke 15–16, 94, 117, 124, 129, 138,
 141, 146–7 *etc.*
Yorke, Archebysshope of 3–4,
 15 *etc.*
Yorke Mynster 149
Yorke Place 117
Yorke, Treasurer of 177

लाल बहादुर शास्त्री राष्ट्रीय प्रशासन अकादमी, पुस्तकालय
Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration Library

महाराजा

MUSSOORIE

101153

यह पुस्तक निम्नांकित तारीख तक वापिस करनी है।

This book is to be returned on the date last stamped.

91 262 135092

GL 20
WOL

262.135092

Wol

अवाप्ति संख्या

101153

Acc No.

9647

वर्ग संख्या

पुस्तक संख्या

Class No.

Book No.

लेखक

Author Cavendish, G.

शीर्षक

Title The life and death of

262.135092

Wol

9647

LIBRARY

LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

National Academy of Administration

MUSSOORIE

Accession No. 101153

- Books are issued for 15 days only but may have to be recalled earlier if urgently required.
- An over-due charge of 25 Paise per day per volume will be charged.
- Books may be renewed on request, at the discretion of the Librarian.
- Periodicals, Rare and Reference books may not be issued and may be consulted only in the Library.
- Books lost, defaced or injured in any way shall have to be replaced or its